

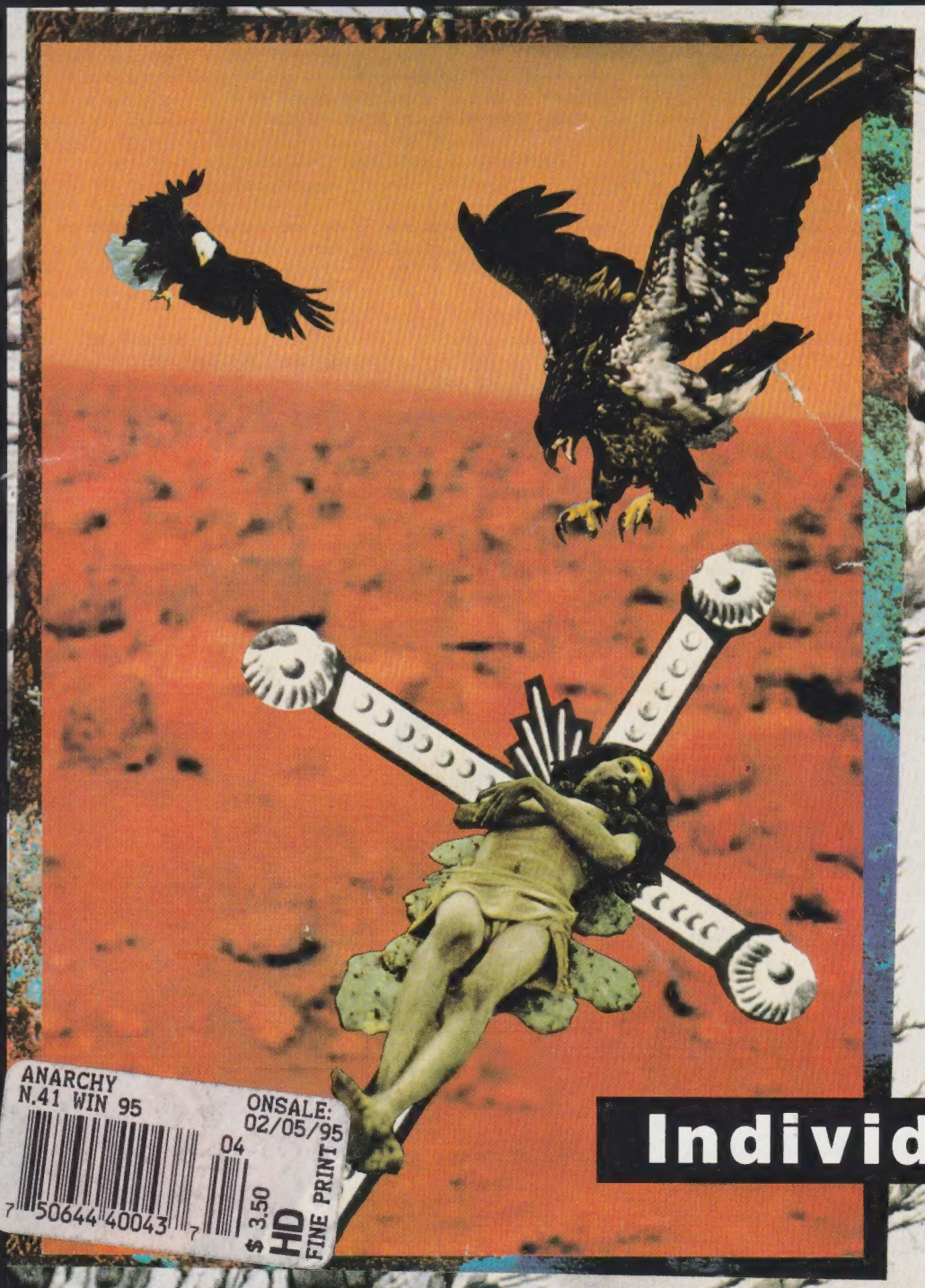
Towards a Society based on Mutual Aid, Voluntary Cooperation & the Liberation of Desire

#41/Winter '95
Vol.14, No.3

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Anarchy

A Journal of Desire Armed



On Max Stirner

**Marius Jacob &
the Illegalists**

**Anarchism and
Other
Impediments to
Anarchy**

**Creativity,
Spontaneity and
Poetry**

**The Right To Be
Greedy**

**Libertarianism
-Bogus Anarchy**

In Memoria

Special issue on

Individualism



Openers

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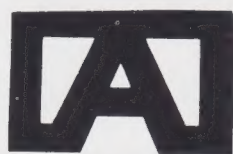
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Short news and comment articles or reviews which are used in "Openers," "The Sad Truth," "Alternative Media Review" or "International Anarchist News" may be edited for brevity and style. Other submissions (features, fiction) will be edited only with the author's permission. **Anarchy** editors reserve the power to make editorial comments, to run introductions or responses, to classify articles, and to place sidebars wherever deemed appropriate. Until we can afford to remunerate authors, photographers, and graphic artists for their published contributions we will give free issues &/or subscriptions, or other appropriate tokens of our appreciation. **Deadlines** for submissions are Jan. 31st for the Spring issue, April 30th for the Summer issue, July 31st for the Fall issue, and Oct. 31st for the Winter issue, but it *always* helps to get submissions in earlier!

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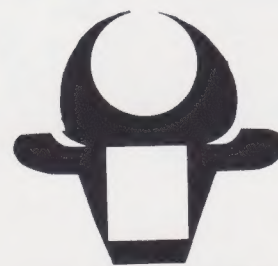
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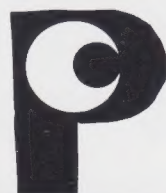
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Discontents



Essays

- 19 Creativity, Spontaneity and Poetry
BY RAOUL VANEIGEM
- 25 On Max Stirner
BY BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES EMEUTES
- 29 The Right to Be Greedy
BY FOR OURSELVES
- 34 The Illegalists
BY DOUG IMRIE
- 36 Why I Became a Burglar
BY MARIUS JACOB
- 37 Note on Surrealism
BY L'UNIQUE ET SON OMBRE
- 41 In Memoria
BY JOHN ZERZAN

Departments

- The Sad Truth
- 6 Libertarianism: Bogus Anarchy
- 9 The Fatuousness of Cynicism

Alternative Media Review

- 10 *Drunken Boat*
- 11 *The Movement of the Free Spirit*
- 12 *Test Card F*
- 13 *A Voice in the Wilderness*
- 14 *Killed in the Line of Duty*
- 15 *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media*
- 16 *Invisible Governance*

Columns

- 46 **Loose Cannons:** Rewriting History
- 48 **Schiz-Flux:** Pundits for Capitalism
- 50 **The Iconoclast's Hammer:** The Unique One: A Manifesto

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"The whirling of time has its revenges."

—B.A.G. Fuller

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Inside Anarchy

Welcome (finally) to the Fall '94/Winter '95 issue of *Anarchy*, a special issue on individualism! The features open up with, per usual, a chapter from Vaneigem's *Revolution of Everyday Life*, "Creativity, Spontaneity, and Poetry". Then we dive into the theme material collected and translated by contributing editors Michael William and Doug Imrie from Montreal which includes a piece by Doug on "The Illegalists"; a translation from *Unique et son Ombre* entitled "Note on Surrealism"; "On Max Stirner"; a stimulating piece on prison abolition by Catherine Baker; an excerpt from the seminal "Right to Be Greedy" by For Ourselves; and longtime contributor John Zerzan weighs in with "In Memoria". We also have almost entirely caught up on our backlog of letters, so maybe we can take a breather. Wait a few days before you write us.

We'd like to thank subscribers for being patient this summer, this isn't the first time we've been a bit late with an issue, and probably won't be the last. *Anarchy* is a not-for-profit collective project with no paid employees, and operates accordingly. People (in the tri-state area, particularly) are encouraged to become more involved. We think there is great potential for *Anarchy* in its new location, and we hope to take full advantage of it.

The Spring '95 issue should be a special issue focussing on utopian and/or intentional communities; we of course welcome submissions. Themes being considered for future issues include anarchy and violence, syndicalism, drugs, organization, "art" and anarchy, prisons, Modernity, tech, Marxism, "Libertarianism", another issue on the situationists... what else? You tell us.

At present, the new editorial and production collective has no major editorial changes in mind—either in format, or editorial stance. We have, however, fiddled with trying to come up with a policy regarding the letters column and its exponentially increasing volume. I've heard numerous complaints (and compliments) from long-time *Anarchy* readers about the tone of the letters section—but everyone seems to keep reading them. We want to hear your suggestions.

We also intend to immensely expand our book review section to include reviews of books we feel may be of interest to anti-authoritarians, but may be expressly authoritarian in politics and intent... just to stay abreast of things, you know. Prospective contributors should take note of this, and act accordingly.

The move to New York has been a financial strain, and as a result, we're making a

Editorial continued on page 33



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Matthew Karwowski 1965-1994

In the small hours of September 1, 1994, a young man was shot and killed in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn. Matthew Karwowski—bicycle messenger, film student, lover of learning, travel, and pretty women—became a grim statistic at the age of 29. His intelligence, his humor, his passions, his plans—the world that was Matthew—was abruptly canceled, leaving those of us who knew him in shock and feeling tremendous sadness. He was alone when he died. The sequence of events that led to the fatal incident will probably remain unknown, as will his killer, who apparently did not intend to murder his victim, as Matthew was shot in the leg. But the bullet severed an artery, and he bled to death within minutes.

Matt was a good friend of mine. I had known him from college days and had been his roommate for several years. He suffered (if that is the word) from manic-depression, for which he was supposed to take medication. This, along with the ministrations of psychiatrists, he often spurned, which resulted in frequent bizarre episodes of manic behavior that got him into various kinds of trouble and sometimes made him very difficult to live with. But it also undoubtedly gave him a creative intensity that helped place him outside the parameters of the "normal." He had cheated death several times before in accidents he incurred in his dangerous work as a messenger in New York City. He always took these close encounters in stride, as if he believed nothing would ever stop him.

Unfortunately, the recklessness that accompanied his manic highs may well have contributed to his death. Common sense would have counseled staying off the street at that hour in the tough south side of Williamsburg, where the market in hard drugs makes for a volatile nocturnal scene.

Matt was not an anarchist, strictly speaking, although he lived with his desires well armed, and he was known to and liked by several of the anarchists in NYC. He was more of a liberal with bohemian and left tendencies who was bothered by the injustice of capitalist society and identified with efforts at autonomous ways of living. He worked on a video about the Umbrella Haus squatters of Manhattan's Lower East Side.

My friend was good with languages, particularly Spanish and French. At the time of his death he had been planning a trip to Pakistan, and had spent more than a year studying Hindi/Urdu.

I last saw Matthew less than a week before he died. For a long time I'll find it hard to accept that he's really gone for good, and I'll never forget him as long as I live. —Alex Trotter

Matt (with Mike Hammerbrain) tried squatting one of the most unsquatable buildings on the Lower East Side. At 13th and D there's a big industrial building, whose warehouse-style inner floors, unpartitioned and full of holes, became a fantasy-land of cooperative space and semi-industrious activity. Matt had big plans for this

building.

In Jan. of '92, oh-so-romantically down and strung out of a place to live, I made an appointment to meet with him to look the place over. My apartment turned squat at S. 2nd and Havemeyer in Williamsburg was getting hairy, the landlord was threatening to have things done to me, and I had become paranoid enough to carry a gun at all times, I was drawing my electricity from the stairwell hallway light-fixture and I wanted the fuck out. When I got to the address, it took me about ten minutes to figure out how the hell to get into the building. I yelled up as instructed; but of course, no one heard me.

Once inside, Matt warmly welcomed me and proceeded to show me around the place. We started heading up a winding staircase in



Radical author Guy Debord dead at 62

The French filmmaker and author of the epoch-defining book *Society of the Spectacle*, Guy Debord, took his own life on November 30, 1994, at his home in the Auvergne, after suffering from ill health.

In 1968 Debord wrote, "For the first time in contemporary Europe no party or fraction of a party even tries to pretend they wish to change anything significant. The commodity is beyond criticism: as a general system and even as the particular forms of junk which heads of industry choose to put on the market at any given time." He was one of the founders of the Situationist International, whose fame reached its apogee in the wake of the mass strike throughout France in that year, at least in part inspired by the S.I.

almost complete blackness; and Matt added to my misgivings by flippantly warning me about this missing step or that on the way up.

Done with the staircase, we came out onto the top floor. This looked just like any other abandoned industrial building in NYC—old piping exposed, holes knocked in the walls, wiring and plumbing destroyed and cannibalized by junkies and smokers for salable scrap, and so on.

I must have said something like "Wow" as I continued to scope the joint. The room was big, and untold amounts of sweat-shop piece work must've been done there in the first fifty years of this century. The place had obviously been unused for quite some time, though. Squinting, I began to notice big-ass chunks of fluffy white

Continued on page 27

The radical aesthetes who made up the Situationist International remain infamous to this day for their revolutionary intransigence, their demand to suppress and realize art, and their amplification of Henri Lefebvre's critique of everyday life. Aside from authoring one of the two major books of the Situationist International (the other was Raoul Vaneigem's *Revolution of Everyday Life*), Guy Debord is remembered as the driving force behind the S.I., and as its only remaining member when it was dissolved in the early '70s after all other members left or were expelled in the doldrums following '68.

Debord wrote his own epitaph in his recently translated, autobiographical *Panegyric*. "All my life I have seen only troubled times, extreme divisions, in society and immense destruction...A doctor of nothing, have firmly kept myself apart from all semblance of participation in the circles that then passed for intellectual or artistic."

With the increasing celebrity the Situationist International has found in radical artistic and theoretical circles, Debord came under increasing scrutiny despite his steadfast refusal for decades to play the spectacular role demanded by the mass media. He did, however, allow his work to be republished by Gallimard, after his original publisher Champ Libre closed down. And in 1994, he even agreed to participate in a documentary film on his life and times, an amazing concession for a man who refused to allow his own films to be shown.

According to Malcolm Imrie writing in *The Guardian*, Debord's "last text, *Cette Mauvaise Réputation*, merely cites—and mocks—the assessments of his status published in France between 1968 and 1992, and there are enough of those to fill a short book. 'If you do not make any concessions to the media,' wrote the 'ridiculous' Régis Debray in one of them, 'you condemn yourself to disappear.' And what would be wrong with that, wondered Debord. But he was being overrun by fame, and one cannot, as he said, go into exile in a unified world."

The best way to remember Debord is to read his work. The most essential of his books remains *Society of the Spectacle* (Black and Red). His other books translated into English include *Panegyric* and *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle* (Verso), *In Girum Imus Nocte et Consumimur Igni* (Pelagian Press, London), and *Society of the Spectacle and Other Films* (Rebel Press, London). —Jason McQuinn

LIBERTARIANISM: BOGUS ANARCHY

A distinct mainstream movement specific to the United States, Libertarianism had its inception during the 1960s. In 1971 it formed into a political party and went on to make a strong showing in several elections.¹ Libertarianism is at times referred to as "anarchism," and certain of its adherents call themselves "anarchists," e.g., the economist James Buchanan.² More significant, the work of US individualist anarchists (Benjamin Tucker et al.) is cited by some Libertarians.³ Accordingly, it may rightly be asked whether Libertarianism is in fact anarchism. Exactly what is the relationship between the two? To properly decide the question requires a synopsis of anarchist history.

The chronology of anarchism within the United States corresponds to what transpired in Europe and other locations. An organized anarchist movement imbued with a revolutionary collectivist, then communist, orientation came to fruition in the late 1870s. At that time, Chicago was a primary center of anarchist activity within the USA, due in part to its large immigrant population.⁴ (Chicago was also where the Haymarket affair occurred in 1886. An unknown assailant threw a bomb as police broke up a public protest demonstration. Many radicals were arrested, and several hanged on the flimsiest of evidence.) Despite off and on political repression, the US anarchist movement continued in an expansive mode until the mid-1890s, when it then began to flounder. By 1900, anarchism was visibly in decline.⁵ But like its counterpart in Europe, anarchism's marginalization in the United States was temporarily slowed by the arrival of syndicalism. North American syndicalism appeared 1904-1905 in the form of a militant unionism known as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Anarchists entered the IWW along with revolutionary socialists. The alliance did not last long.⁶ Internal squabbles soon split the IWW, and for a time there existed anarchist and socialist versions. Finally, with involvement of the US in WWI, the anarchist IWW, and anarchism in general, dropped from the public domain.⁷

Anarchy in the USA consisted not only of the Bakunin-collectivist/syndicalist and Kropotkin-communist strains, but also the Proudhon-mutualist/individualist variant associated most closely with Benjamin Tucker. Individualist anarchy actually had a longer history of duration within the United States than the other two, but not only because Proudhon preceded Bakunin and Kropotkin. There were other individualist anarchists before Tucker who had ties to various radical movements which predate Proudhon. Within the United States of early to mid-19th century, there appeared an array of communal and "utopian" counterculture groups (including the so-called free love movement). William Godwin's anarchism exerted an ideological influence on some of this, but more so the socialism of Robert Owen and Charles Fourier.⁸ After success of his British venture, Owen himself established a cooperative community within the United States at New Harmony, Indiana during 1825. One member of

this commune was Josiah Warren (1798-1874), considered to be the first individualist anarchist.⁹ After New Harmony failed Warren shifted his ideological loyalties from socialism to anarchism (which was no great leap, given that Owen's socialism had been predicated on Godwin's anarchism).¹⁰ Then he founded his own commune ("Modern Times") and propounded an individualist doctrine which nicely dovetailed with Proudhon's mutualism arriving from abroad.¹¹ Warren's activities attracted a number of converts, some of whom helped to further develop American mutualism. The most important of these were Ezra Heywood (1829-1893), William B. Greene (1819-1878), and Lysander Spooner (1808-1887). The advent of the Civil War put an end to much of the utopian movement and its communal living experiments. Individualist anarchism was itself reduced to an agitprop journalistic enterprise of some measurable popularity.¹² And in this form it found its most eloquent voice with Benjamin Tucker and his magazine *Liberty*. Tucker had been acquainted with Heywood and other individualist anarchists, and he subsequently converted to mutualism.¹³ Thereafter he served as the movement's chief polemicist and guiding hand.

The Proudhonist anarchism that Tucker represented was largely superseded in Europe by revolutionary collectivism and anarcho-communism. The same changeover occurred in the US, although mainly among subgroups of working class immigrants who were settling in urban areas. For these recent immigrants caught up in tenuous circumstances within the vortex of emerging corporate capitalism, a revolutionary anarchy had greater relevancy than go slow mutualism. On the other hand, individualist anarchism also persisted within the United States because it had the support of a different (more established, middle class, and formally educated) audience that represented the earlier stream of indigenous North American radicalism reflecting this region's unique, and rapidly fading, decentralized economic development. Although individualist and communist anarchy are fundamentally one and the same doctrine, their respective supporters still ended up at loggerheads over tactical differences.¹⁴ But in any event, the clash between the two variants was ultimately resolved by factors beyond their control. Just as anarcho-communism entered a political twilight zone in the 1890s, American mutualism did likewise. Tucker's bookstore operation burned down in 1908, and this not only terminated publication of *Liberty*, but also what remained of the individualist anarchist "movement." The aggregate of support upon which this thread of thought had depended was already in dissipation.¹⁵ Individualist anarchy after 1900 receded rapidly to the radical outback.

What then does any of this have to do with Libertarianism? In effect, nothing, aside from a few unsupported claims. Libertarianism is not anarchism, but actually a form of liberalism. It does, however, have a point of origin that is traceable to the same juncture as anarchism's

marginalization. So in this limited sense there is a shared commonality. To be more precise, the rapid industrialization that occurred within the United States after the Civil War went hand in glove with a sizable expansion of the American state.¹⁶ At the turn of the century, local entrepreneurial (proprietorship/partnership) business was overshadowed in short order by transnational corporate capitalism.¹⁷ The catastrophic transformation of US society that followed in the wake of corporate capitalism fueled not only left wing radicalism (anarchism and socialism), but also some prominent right wing opposition from dissident elements anchored within liberalism. The various stratum comprising the capitalist class responded differentially to these transpiring events as a function of their respective position of benefit. Small business that remained as such came to greatly resent the economic advantage corporate capitalism secured to itself, and the sweeping changes the latter imposed on the presumed ground rules of bourgeois competition.¹⁸ Nevertheless, because capitalism is liberalism's *raison d'être*, small business operators had little choice but to blame the state for their financial woes, otherwise they moved themselves to another ideological camp (anti-capitalism). Hence, the enlarged state was imputed as the primary cause for capitalism's "aberration" into its monopoly form, and thus it became the scapegoat for small business complaint. Such sentiments are found vented within a small body of literature extending from this time, e.g., Albert Jay Nock's *Our Enemy, The State* (1935); what may now rightly be called proto-Libertarianism.¹⁹

As a self-identified ideological movement, however, Libertarianism took more definite shape from the 1940s onward through the writings of novelist Ayn Rand. The exaltation of liberal individualism and minimal state *laissez-faire* capitalism that permeates Rand's fictional work as a chronic theme attracted a cult following within the United States. To further accommodate supporters, Rand fashioned her own popular philosophy ("Objectivism") and a membership organization. Many of those who would later form the nucleus of Libertarianism came out of Objectivism, including two of its chief theoreticians, John Hospers and Murray Rothbard.²⁰ Another conduit into Libertarianism carried a breakaway faction from William F. Buckley's college youth club, the Edmund Burke-style conservative Young Americans For Freedom.²¹ More academic input arrived from the Austrian school of neoclassical economics promulgated by F.A. Hayek and Ludwig von Mises (of which the economist Rothbard subscribes).²² All these marginal streams intermingled during the mid to late 1960s, and finally settled out as Libertarianism in the early 1970s.²³

(Incidentally, something should be said about the word "libertarian". It was originally used by French anarchists in the 1890's as a substitute for "anarchist" to avoid detection by the authorities and to counter the growing public association of "anarchy" with chaos and

dynamite. While anarchists today still call themselves "libertarian," the word is now better known as designating Libertarianism, the right wing appropriation of "anarchy" and "libertarian" during the 1960s was partly an attempt to attract naive protesters to something ostensibly radical, and to generate confusion. Indeed, the mere employment of these two terms by Libertarians is chiefly responsible for why some "scholars" derive the silly notion that anarchism and Libertarianism are the same movement. The most recent example of this error is Ulrike Heider's disjointed work *Anarchism: Left, Right, and Green* (City Lights, 1994). Ultimately, what followers of Libertarianism label themselves is politically expedient, but practically meaningless. The main issue here is the actual substance of their dogma.)

It is no coincidence that Libertarianism solidified and conspicuously appeared on the scene just after the United States entered an economic downturn (at the same time Keynesian economics was discredited and neoclassical theory staged a comeback). The world-wide retrenchment of capitalism that began in the late 1960s broke the ideological strangle hold of a particular variant of (Locke-Rousseau) liberalism, thereby allowing the public airing of other (Locke-Burke) strains representing disaffected elements within the capitalist class, including small business interests. Libertarianism was one aspect of this New Right offensive. It appeared to be something *sui generis*. Libertarianism provided a simplistic status quo explanation to an anxious middle class threatened by the unfathomed malaise of capitalism and growing societal deterioration, i.e., blame the state. And this prevalent grasping at straws attitude accounts for the success of Robert Nozick's popularization of Libertarianism, *Anarchy, State, And Utopia* (1974). It rode the crest of this polemic rift within liberalism. The book was deemed controversial, even extreme, by establishment liberals (and social democrats long pacified by the welfare state), who, secure in power for decades, were now under sustained attack by their own right wing. Yet at bedrock, Nozick's treatise was nothing more than old wine in a new bottle, an updating of John Locke.²⁴

Libertarianism is not anarchism. Some Libertarians readily admit this. For example, Ayn Rand, the radical egoist, expressly disavows the communal individuality of Stirner in favor of liberalism's stark individualism.²⁵ Plus Robert Nozick makes pointed reference to the US individualist anarchists, and summarily dismisses them.²⁶ This explicit rejection of anarchism is evidence of the basic liberalist ideology that Libertarians hold dear. But more specifically, within the movement itself there exist factional interests.²⁷ There are Libertarians who emphasize lifestyle issues and civil liberties (an amplification of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*). They want the state out of their "private" lives, e.g., in drug use and sexual activity. Others are chiefly concerned with economics. They champion *laissez-faire*/"free-market"/neoclassical economics, and fault the state for corrupting "natural" capitalism. Although both groups despise the state intensely, neither wants to completely do away with it. This minimal state position, sufficient by itself to debar Libertarianism from classification as anarchism, is em-



Collage by James Koehnline

The Sad Truth

braced by Rand, Buchanan, Hospers, and Nozick.²⁸ More revealing, however, is why Libertarians retain the state. What they always insist on maintaining are the state's coercive apparatuses of law, police, and military.²⁹ The reason flows directly from their view of human nature, which is a hallmark of liberalism, not anarchism. That is, Libertarianism ascribes social problems within society (crime, poverty, etc.) to an inherent disposition of humans (re: why Locke argues people leave the "state of nature"), hence the constant need for "impartial" force supplied by the state. Human corruption and degeneracy stemming from structural externalities as a function of power is never admitted because Libertarianism, like liberalism, fully supports capitalism. It does not object to its power, centralization, economic inequality, hierarchy, and authority. The "liberty" to exploit labor and amass property unencumbered by the state is the quintessence of capitalism, and the credo of Libertarianism née liberalism, all of which is the utter negation of anarchism.

Lastly to be addressed is the apparent anomaly of Murray Rothbard. Within Libertarianism, Rothbard represents a minority perspective that actually argues for the total elimination of the state. However Rothbard's claim as an anarchist is quickly voided when it is shown that he only wants an end to the public state. In its place he allows countless private states, with each person supplying their own police force, army, and law, or else purchasing these services from capitalist vendors.³⁰ Rothbard has no problem whatsoever with the amassing of wealth, therefore those with more capital will inevitably have greater coercive force at their disposal, just as they do now. Additionally, in those rare moments when Rothbard (or any other Libertarian) does draw upon individualist anarchism, he is always highly selective about what he pulls out. Most of the doctrine's core principles, being decidedly anti-Libertarianism, are conveniently ignored, and so what remains is shrill anti-statism conjoined to a vacuous freedom in hackneyed defense of capitalism. In sum, the "anarchy" of Libertarianism reduces to a liberal fraud. David Wieck's critique of Rothbard, applicable to Libertarianism in general, will close this discussion.

"Out of the history of anarchist thought and action Rothbard has pulled forth a single thread, the thread of individualism, and defines that individualism in a way alien even to the spirit of a Max Stirner or a Benjamin Tucker, whose heritage I presume he would claim - to say nothing of how alien is his way to the spirit of Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Malatesta, and the historically anonymous persons who through their thoughts and action have tried to give anarchism a living meaning. Out of this thread Rothbard manufactures one more bourgeois ideology."³¹

-Peter Sabatini

END NOTES

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7. James Joll, *The Anarchists*. Second Edition (London: Methuen, 1979), pp. 201-203; Miller, pp. 134-135; Terry M. Perlin, *Anarchist-Communism In America, 1890-1914* (Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1970), p. 294.

8. John C. Spurlock, *Free Love: Marriage and Middle-Class Radicalism in America, 1825-1860* (New York: New York University, 1988), pp. 28, 62.

9. James J. Martin, *Men Against The State: The Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in America 1827-1908* (New York: Libertarian Book Club, 1957), pp. 14, 17; William O. Reichert, *Partisans Of Freedom: A Study in American Anarchism* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University, 1976), p. 66.

10. G.D.H. Cole, *Socialist Thought: The Forerunners 1789-1859* (London: Macmillan, 1953), pp. 87-88.

11. Martin, p. 97.

12. Veysey, pp. 35, 36.

13. Edward K. Spann, *Brotherly Tomorrows: Movements for a Cooperative Society in America 1820-1920* (New York: Columbia University, 1989), p. 146.

14. For example, see the vitriolic exchange between Kropotkin and Tucker. Peter Kropotkin,

Modern Science And Anarchism, Second Edition (London: Freedom Press, 1923), pp. 70-71. Benjamin R. Tucker, *Instead Of A Book, By A Man Too Busy To Write One* (New York: Haskell House, 1969), pp. 388-389.

15. Martin, pp. 258-259.

16. See, Stephen Skowronek, *Building A New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1982).

17. See, Olivier Zunz, *Making America Corporate 1870-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990).

18. David M. Gordon, Richard Edwards and Michael Reich, *Segmented Work, Divided Workers: The Historical Transformation of Labor in the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1982), pp. 109, 110.

19. Albert Jay Nock, *Our Enemy, The State* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1935). Peter Marshall, *Demanding The Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (London: HarperCollins, 1992), p. 560. Veysey, p. 36.

20. John Hospers, *Libertarianism: A Political Philosophy for Tomorrow* (Los Angeles: Nash Publishing, 1971), p. 466. Ted Goertzel, *Turncoats And True Believers: The Dynamics of Political Belief and Disillusionment* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1992), pp. 141, 263.

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23. Newbrough, p. 217.

24. John Gray, *Liberalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1986), pp. xi, 41; J.G. Merquior, *Liberalism: Old and New* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991), p. 138.

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28. Gray, p. 42; Hospers, p. 417; Nozick, p. 276; Rand and Branden, pp. 112, 113.

29. Hospers, p. 419; Nozick, p. ix; Rand and Branden, p. 112.

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THE FATUOUSNESS OF CYNICISM

1. At a time when people everywhere are being taken in by the lies and distractions presented by the media, we find everyone at the same time defending their cynicism—their self-proclaimed recognition of what is "really" going on.

This cynicism reaches every corner of society. Saturating conversations at work, every discussion of politics and personal life, everyone obliged to give the impression that "we know" what games are being played, what politicians are "really" up to.... "Nobody is pulling any wool over my eyes".

Cynicism is a joke, nowhere more apparent than in the pages of *Private Eye* or in the spectacle of "Spitting Image". Here we are all encouraged to laugh hard at how fucked up and corrupt the situation is. Forced controversies encourage nothing but complacency. They are nothing but a silent agreement to avoid putting anything seriously into question and as such are a fraud.

Accepting cynicism as a necessary option, by sacrificing any control over our own destiny, we recognize ourselves only as victims. By molding a recognition of oppression into acceptance of the "facts of life", we shed responsibility—declaring that the game is rigged as our reason for continuing to play!

Of course there are real enough social reasons for this cynical consciousness, but that doesn't make it right. Just as there are real enough reasons for the rise of neo-nazism amongst today's proletarians who snatch at the simple solutions offered. But poverty doesn't make fascism right—it never has. The causes of a belief don't justify it. It is the *consequences* of beliefs that ultimately matter most.

Cynicism in everyday culture has the character of a pre-emptive counter-revolution, sapping the will to resist or even struggle. The enemy is transformed into something universally untouchable, rather than something particular. The "know it alls" have substituted the notion of an omnipotent, ever present oppression to mask their own fear. If we really did know all we need to know, were already aware of how the world works and where to place responsibility for our unwilling obedience, then we would hardly be in the mess we are in. Revolution would have overcome its major stumbling block, but this blockage is neatly put into, and kept in, place by cynicism itself.

2.

Cynicism is a surrender, an agreement not to exercise free will. It closes all possibility of escape from that which is unbearable by sacrificing hope—"Que sera, sera".

By the postures and language of cynicism we pretend that we have sussed everything out, that we really know the score. Some of us would do pretty desperate things rather than face up to the possibility that we haven't got a clue what is going on.

The cynic is the defeatist who has walled himself into a tomb of self-justifying excuses,

willfully forgetting that there was ever hope and forgetting that they have chosen to forget.

A cynic is someone who does not want to be disturbed by knowledge of reality and its possibilities, and is prepared to be buried alive for fear of being found out to be the victim of a pathetic fraud.

Cynicism is the extrovert form of suicide. It denies that the world can change, but it does.



3.

Cynicism comes in all shapes and sizes. From the arrogance of journalists to the bitterness of jaded idealists who've chucked away all their ideas, too tired to retrace their mistakes and admit they only got some things wrong.

It is the religion of everyday life—"Be realistic—demand the inevitable". Cynicism prevents people from doing things they might otherwise be able to contemplate doing, even if it doesn't actually prescribe how people should live their lives. It rules things out, declares battles to be lost before forces have even been joined; it announces the decisive issues to be not worth it. In numerous ways it insidiously demoralizes us, unbending the springs of action.

The social conditions for cynicism can be found everywhere. Its foundations are in our surroundings that scream at us, "That is the way things are and this is the way you are". Cynicism, with the nerve to define itself as wisdom, "understands" all this, yet takes the solidity of our environment as a sign of its unchangeability.

We routinely miss or evade the difference between reasons for obeying rules and the reasons why particular rules are imposed in the first place. We treat them as if they were laws of nature. The words of the cynics sputter disempowerment as efficiently as a machine

gun in the hands of a cop.

Cynicism is the opposite of vandalism. Instead of desecrating walls or smashing physical structures, it builds impenetrable mental walls of its own and posts warnings like, "It's no good banging your head against a brick wall". The damage done by cynical restraint far exceeds the more visible effects of literal vandalism.

4.

Another aspect of cynicism's fraud is that there might be a difference between a genuine cynic (an idealist who has learnt sobering lessons from the hard knock of experience) and a mere impostor (putting on airs to give the impression they've seen something of life). There is no difference. Copying cynical phrases from a book is no more superficial than the person who wrote them in the first place. Cynicism is meant to be easily imitated. What the cynic claims to "know" is only what any fool can say.

Cynicism's prime function is to forestall knowledge, to short-circuit the process of learning (Remember the cynic "knows it all" already). It is always in fashion because it is the perfect cover for every possible foolish act or retreat.

5.

Cynicism amongst revolutionaries provides for their eventual defection. They have their excuses ready made by blaming "The System" for all the unscrupulous behavior which cynicism makes inevitable.

For most people, cynicism is a failure of nerve. The cynics are faint-hearted in refusing to face up to the fact that the world is nowhere near as hopeless as they would like to think. Cynicism rationalizes cowardice as "realism", denying the thought that there are many things that can and should be done which might put courage and integrity back on the agenda.

Cynics cringe at the need to act from moral necessities, just as they scoff at practical proposals which they say would be "futile" simply because they go against the prevailing grain. Cynicism today is generalized conformism.

Cynicism is a bank of excuses, from "You can't change human nature", or "People are basically selfish", to the well-worn apologies, "I've got a family to think about", and, "It's more than my job's worth". Cynicism's language is the rhetoric of scared bureaucrats who simply con themselves into believing that they have seriously weighed up the risks of breaking the rules—when really they had no intention of considering it a practical option at all.

There is no "human nature" that one can incriminate for the banal fact of selfishness. Behind the cynical generalizations, moral cowardice and obstinate refusal to use one's intelligence or imagination can be no stretching of words be referred back to "human" or "natural" causes.

Continued on page 24

Drunken Boat

Review by Judith Frederika Rodenbeck

Drunken Boat (Autonomedia, POB 568, Williamsburg Station, Brooklyn, NY 11211-0568/Left Bank Books, 4142 Brooklyn Ave. NE, Seattle, WA 98105, 1994) 288pp., \$12.00, paper.

D*runken Boat* is a journal devoted to "Art, Rebellion, Anarchy," and the latest issue (#2) has just come out in book format, co-published by Autonomedia and Left Bank Books. It is an attractively produced volume with a decent amount of illustrations and a familiar and highly readable Fleming/Weimarish graphic design. *Drunken Boat* collects a variety of historical articles, manifestoes, poetry, fiction, collages and images loosely gathered around the theme of Euro-American modernist anarchist aesthetics. On the front cover is a watercolor by Eric Drooker (who also designed the cover) of two figures silhouetted against a queasy pink and green exurban landscape. One figure sits on a railroad track holding a bottle of something in his lap and smoking while the other clutches a giant sunflower. John Cage, Judith Malina, Paul Avrich, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Diane di Prima, Hakim Bey and George Woodcock—all contributors to this issue—lend pithy endorsements on the back.



The first half is probably the heaviest going, but also, I found, the most interesting, and contains the bulk of the historical essays. Arthur Mitzman's "Anarchism, Expressionism & Psychoanalysis" and Pat Frank's "San Francisco 1952: Painters, Poets, Anarchism" are the two most informative (and heavily footnoted) pieces of historical writing. Each describes a particular milieu of ferment, the confluence of artists and anarchists, and the historical trajectory of the characters involved, with attention to ideological nuance. Mitzman's subject, rebel psychoanalyst Otto Gross (who died in 1919, apparently of a combination of starvation and illness), believed that psychic ills were social in nature, the result of a diseased patriarchal teleology, and that sexual instinct arose from the same source as the impulse to mutual aid. He briefly became a cause celebre when his father had him institutionalized. Artists and bohemians rallied together in protest and managed to spring Gross, who soon disappeared from the history of psychoanalysis altogether, saving a few footnotes in Freud. Mitzman is thorough in his detailing of the intricacies of the psychoanalytic debates as well as the ins and outs of individual alliances; he is on less sure ground in his discussion of the Expressionist connection, which reads almost

as an afterthought, and the concluding paragraphs—kind of catch-all and generic polemic—are an unfortunate addition. Still, this is probably the best article in *DB* and the most provocative, and Mitzman is the only author in this book to ask hard questions about both aesthetics and ideology and to leave them open.

Pat Frank's article traces a partial history of libertarian and anarchist discourse among artists in post-war San Francisco. Frank writes well and with precision, judiciously quoting, and draws a careful social history of post-atomic dysphoria. The story takes as its two starting points Kenneth Rexroth's Libertarian Circle and the California School of Fine Arts, where Clyfford Still was teaching. The narrative eventually centers on the King Ubu space, an alternative gallery established by Jess, Robert Duncan, and Harry Jacobus in 1952, and self-consciously sets the scene for Ginsburg's arrival in San Francisco and his 1955 reading of "Howl" at Six Gallery (the same space but under a new regime).

There are two other long historical papers worth mentioning here. Francis M. Naumann writes about "Man Ray and the Ferrer Center," an experimental school in New York where Man Ray studied art in his early 20s, and Rose-Carol Long writes about the conjunction of occultism and anarchy in Kandinsky. Both articles have their interest, but suffer from rather pedestrian style and what feels like a stretching of content to fit the programmatic bill laid out by Max Blechman, *DB*'s editor.

Long's article is careful and academic, but hardly earth-shattering, while Naumann provides some historical evidence that Man Ray had contact with anarchists, and presents a few magazine covers Ray designed for *Mother Earth*, but is at pains to provide any other evidence of anarchist leanings. Incidentally, Ray's work in this period by and large, judging from the illustrations provided, is far from aesthetically avant-garde, despite Naumann's attempts to present it as such. And it is here that one of the largest questions raised by *Drunken Boat* looms: the question of avant-garde aesthetics.

"From the sagging dock of modernity, *Drunken Boat* sets out to sea," writes the editor in his introduction to the issue. And here is the crux of the problem, for how can the editor reclaim *modernity*—in 1994—as the present position of Art, Rebellion, Anarchy? To do so requires a willful blindness toward the historical conditions of the avant-garde and of the progress of modernity itself. And as an editorial position it seals the retro fate of this book. The overt linking of anarchist politics with the aesthetic avant-garde is a fine mission, and ostensibly what Blechman is after. But in reading both his introduction and his brief essay "Toward an Anarchist Aesthetic" it becomes clear that Blechman is missing several critical analytic tools. What, for example, is his idea of the aesthetic? "Society stands uncertainly at the pinnacle of Progress," he writes. "It is not the bang which haunts us as much as the continual

whimpering of the human soul, not the sudden eclipsing of light but its gradual fading, not the fiery apocalypse of the Bible but the progressive decaying of all that is beautiful." Borrowing here from that Ur-Modernist T.S. Eliot, Blechman's 1994 social subject is suffering soul-pangs over the slow demise of beauty—three-quarters of a century late. "The work of art has generally been considered worthy only so far as it presents a historically viable content on the one hand (Marxist aesthetics) or decoration and market value on the other (bourgeois aesthetics). In both cases the cognitive function of art is ignored, which is that process of imaginatively exploring subjective emotional content." In other words, the cognitive function of art is neither historically informed nor exchangeable, but is rather the product and representation of unique, individual and momentary psychic states—which are themselves neither historically nor materially conditioned—"for what is creativity other than the affirmation of one's unique individuality in the primacy of the moment?" (A particularly silly contribution from Ferlinghetti also riffs on Eliot ["In the doom the women come and go/Heaps of this and that on gallery floors..."] by way of dismissing a "perverse not subversive" art-world which has called high modernist notions of originality into question.)

This reads like neo-Kantian aesthetics to me. And in fact the fiction and poetry presented here are remarkably conservative; further, Blechman's aesthetic dismissals have no way of accounting for either the collage works of Freddie Baer and James Koehnline or the Anne Tardos and Jackson MacLow ransom/love note to John Cage reproduced in the book. And what kind of history does such an outdated high modernist position allow for? Blechman himself writes, "The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki announced the conclusion of modernity," but his own project reconstructs a positivist aesthetic enterprise—the resuscitation of the Beautiful—as if Enola Gay never dumped. He quotes Adorno and Marcuse, but throws out dialectical operations, instead opting for the romantic notion of both anarchist and artist as creatures arriving ex nihilo in Berlin, in New York, in Paris to express their unique emotional conditions within a stable, consistent History. It is as if there were no actual content to the work of the historical avant-garde apart from "self-expression." (What, one wonders, were John Heartfield, Marcel Duchamp, Hannah Hoch, or even Max Ernst up to in the interwar years? To limit their work to "self-expression" would be ridiculous, to say the least, and rings of apolitical positivism.)

A number of smaller details plague the production of this book. Although the quality of writing is incredibly uneven and would have benefitted enormously from some editing, this is forgivable if one takes it that none of the material has been edited for style; but a decent proofing would have caught many flaws that detract not just from the appearance but content of the work presented. Perhaps the ahistorical notion of aesthetics allowed the editor to leave many of the incidental images only partly identified, but it is irritating that the wonderful line drawings illustrating Alex Trotter's article on 19th century Decadence are

Continued on next page

The Movement of The Free Spirit

Review by Hakim Bey

The Movement of The Free Spirit by Raoul Vaneigem (Zone Books, 1994).

I would've gladly paid twice the price for half the book. Or, to be more precise, pages 95 through 232 (plus notes) constitute—for me—an extremely important and vividly enjoyable work; the rest, I could do without.

The good part of the book consists of the best study of medieval heresy of the Free Spirit that I've ever read—and I've read a few. Apparently Vaneigem has spent the years since 1972 largely in libraries, tracking down, translating, and collecting medieval texts on the Free Spirit. Out of this he has constructed a wonderful chrestomathy or mosaic of excerpts, stitched together with minimal commentary, as a portrait of the movement. I was reminded of Walter Benjamin's scheme for a book made out of bits and pieces of other texts, in which the "author" would disappear, allowing the book to appear as its own origin, a simultaneous erasure of subject and object—the suppression and realization of writing itself, so to speak. Pages 95-232 comprise just such a work (give or take a few tendentious readings here and there); but Vaneigem has rather spoiled the effect with his introduction and conclusion, wherein he interprets the material in a contemporary context—or rather, in the context of 1968.

Most commentaries on the Free Spirit fall into one of two categories: either the movement is seen as "mystical" (in the marginally orthodox vein of, say, Meister Eckhart)—or else as "political", in the proto-Protestant mode of the radical Anabaptists of 1525. Vaneigem's great contribution is to demonstrate the inadequacy of these labels by quoting the Free Spirit, and allowing it thereby to create (or "deconstruct") its own categories of definition. So you might have suspected (by the name if nothing else), the Free Spirit turns out to be very hard to pin down. It is mystical and political, but something else as well. It is, in fact, a *defense of pleasure*.

The image that springs to mind here is Hieronymus Bosch's "Garden of Earthly Delights". Bosch (1460-1516) is supposed to have been directly influenced by the Free Spirit, especially the orgiastic/nudist subset of the Adamites. Vaneigem doesn't mention them, nor does he refer in any depth to another late medieval figure who might suspected of Free Spirit influences, Francois Rabelais (c. 1495-1553). I can't recall any mention of the Free Spirit in Bakhtin's work on Rabelais—but surely the Abbey of Thelema owes *something* to the Beghards and Beguines, those monks and nuns of the Free Spirit who wore silk beneath their hairshirts and french-kissed during the Mass?

Vaneigem appears anxious not to appear "mystical", much less "religious". Thus he categorically denies that the Free Spirit involved any "mysticism", and insists that it be seen as anti-religious in essence. But here the cognitive dissonance between what Vaneigem is saying, and what the Free Spirit voices are saying, threatens to ruin his thesis. He includes a few

heretics who were—as he himself admits—more "freethinkers" than Free Spirits: a few skeptics, a few primitive atheists. But when he comes to Margaret Porete, who wrote the only Free Spirit book to survive the holocausts of the Inquisition, he is forced to quote passages which are obviously mystical because the whole



book is mystical. Vaneigem wants to make the entire "movement" of the Free Spirit fit his own situationist dogma concerning the primacy of pleasure as an *inclusive* category, in which such hybrids as a *mysticism of pleasure* might be easier to understand.

The early Church defined its attitude to pleasure (i.e., to the "body") by constructing a critique on the one hand of Gnostic Dualism (which condemned all "matter" as *evil*, pure and simple), and on the other hand of a "paganism" which was seen as proposing the opposite thesis, that matter is *good*. Subsequent heresies within the Church have often veered toward one or the other of these excluded extremes. Thus even the most vulgar dialectics would suggest that "religion" is a phenomenon of such complexity that it can contain within itself its own negation; and that that negation itself is also complex rather than simple. "Heresy" covers a wide range of possible and actual negations (both pro- and anti-"matter" for example), and in the emergence of these movements it is obvious that "mysticism" (howsoever loosely defined) plays a major mediational role. The sayings and writings of the Free Spirit do not deploy the language of mysticism as a "code"—a simple masking of meaning—merely because they lack a more precise "political" language, nor merely because they lack "freedom of speech". They speak as mystics because they are mystics. To maintain otherwise is to distort their "historical actuality" by questioning their sincerity and intelligence.

Vaneigem's "pleasure only" theory of libera-

tion and resistance has been quite convincingly dealt with by Bob Black in an essay or two (collected in his latest book, *Beneath the Underground* [Feral House, 1994]). By identifying both "exchange" and the imagination as negative forms of separation, Vaneigem effectively excludes all creativity from his utopia, failing to see that "spirituality" has an aspect that is not opposed to the "material bodily principle", but may even enhance or support that principle. What Bakhtin found in Rabelais (and what I sense in the Free Spirit) is not an exclusive devotion to "pleasure" defined simply (and exclusively) as sex and food, but rather an inclusive devotion to a "spirit of pleasure", or even a "spirit of body", which can embrace the imagination ("poesis") as well as the flesh. The Free Spirit, in other words, does not limit itself to "pleasure" as a category, but instead takes pleasure in evading all such rigid limits and definitions in a *free spirit* which knows how to "do justice" to the body and its desires. Spirit and body are one; if the body is preferred (and even exalted) over the spirit, it is only a just response to Church and State, which have denied the

Drunken Boat

From previous page

undated whereas the images accompanying the art historical contributions are thoroughly documented—as if, somehow, there was a relative valuation of canonical visual material at the expense of the non-canonical. And Mitzman's article, which has 55 footnotes, only has 12 footnote markers in the text, as if the remaining 43 footnotes—primarily concerning bibliographic and historic details—were irrelevant. In other articles there are lines missing, words misspelled, and in Blechman's interview with Cage he refers not once but twice to the Jettson group; surely he could have asked Richard Kostelanetz or Jackson MacLow or Judith Malina (all contributors) if it was in fact Judson that Cage was referring to.

Which brings me to a final point. It is said that the Greeks imagined the past visible in front of them and the future sneaking up behind. Many of these contributors will be familiar names from the '50s and '60s, and in some cases (Kostelanetz, especially, but also Gary Snyder, Ferlinghetti, and Di Prima) overfamiliar. On the back cover Cage asks, "May I have the back issues, please?" and it's not without irony that Cage is quoted here by way of endorsement: he's been dead since long before *DB* #2 went to press, notwithstanding the interview with him printed inside (look for it under Blechman's name, though, not Cage's). There's something a little moribund about the whole project, ambitious though it may be, and the brief moments of relief—Hakim Bey's "Immediatism" manifesto or the funny and smart exchange of reviews between Baer and Koehnline—only deepen the contradictions of a book that takes as its aesthetic model a retro representational style that smells of nostalgia.

body—and desire—for so long and with such oppressive violence. The materialist left errs in confusing "spirituality" with the institutions which have tried to monopolize its power on behalf of their own force, whereas it now appears that "spirituality", like the body, stands itself in need of liberation. What Bakhtin found in Rabelais, after all, was not simply the material(ist) body, but the material bodily *principle*. If Bakhtin never identified this as "spirituality", it was because such terms might have roused Stalin's ire. Russian intellectuals consider Bakhtin a religious thinker—though far from orthodox, or even Orthodox (See *Mikhail Bakhtin*, by K. Clark and M. Holquist [Harvard, 1984]). Bakhtin's carnival-theory seems to me a much harder epistemological tool for cracking the Free Spirit code than Vaneigem's "pleasure-only" theory—much subtler and more three-dimensional.

Vaneigem refuses what Bakhtin would call *dialogics*; i.e., the epistemology arising from a recognition that self and other are co-arising or even co-creative factors. Thus something remains opaque for Vaneigem:—precisely, the area of "dialogue" between two such polyvalent complexities as Religion and heresy (or, for that matter, between Heresy and "politics"). This area is liminal and vague, but real enough for "everyday life", which often takes place within the penumbra of the *in-between*. In fact, with the exception of Margaret Porrete's treatise, most of the material collected by Vaneigem consists of actual dialogue between free spirits and their Inquisitors. Much of this material seems to have been elicited without torture, and can therefore be taken as reasonably authentic. The Free Spirit never demanded that its adherents seek martyrdom—quite the

reverse!—but it seems that those who were caught sometimes faced death quite bravely, even recklessly. (In this sense the Free Spirit reminds us of 19th century anarchism.) Our knowledge of the Free Spirit depends on this dialogue between Heresy and Religion, which was not simply an "exchange" between jailers and prisoners. The Church had to deal with the Free Spirit within its own structure (Eckhard, the radical Franciscans, etc.)—while the Free Spirit itself was far from monolithic and contained numerous sects and tendencies, some more "religious" and others more "hedonistic".

Now, Vaneigem wanted to prove that the Free Spirit is "about" pleasure and nothing but pleasure. Therefore he chose material which reflects the most "scandalous" aspects of the Movement, material which no other scholar (known to me) has ever really explored. Most writers on the Free Spirit have interpreted them either as saints or rebels, and Vaneigem deserves our gratitude and applause for finally revealing the "Garden of Earthly Delights" which was their true goal. If Vaneigem has tried to confine the Spirit in an ideology of pleasure, he has at least allowed its many voices to be heard. The Spirit tells us what it is, without any hindrance—or much help—from the historian. Any historian. The dialogue is still unfinished, still open. The Free Spirit is *present* in these pages. If the historian has not precisely "disappeared" and allowed this presence to shine on its own, nevertheless he has been *shoved aside* by something much more alive and up-to-date than any nostalgia for 1968. For evoking *these* spirits with his own blood, the historian deserves our sincere admiration and thanks. His achievement will be remembered when his theories are long forgotten.

peration.

The only way to deal with television and other forms of mass media, they say, is to shun them entirely. Turn off, if not actually throw away, the television set, boycott expensive pop concerts (no matter how "alternative" or "radical"), and refuse to speak to reporters, pollsters, and so on—ever. Like electoral abstentionism, the refusal to consume cultural ideology will contribute in a small way to the eventual downfall of the system.

It doesn't matter what's on the screen—news, entertainment, or what the subject is—it's all part of what the sits called the "spectacle of incoherence" that can only make boredom tolerable and reinforce passive resignation to the system of wage labor and domination.

The book is rather brief, and it would be interesting to see a more in-depth attempt to tie in the critique of television with that of other spectacular media, particularly in a historical way (e.g., the power of earlier mass communication technologies such as cinema and radio, as well as more recent ones such as computers and the "information superhighway"). If it is the *technology* itself of TV, and not simply its content and who owns it, that is the problem, then we have the question of what the author(s)' attitude is toward technology as a whole. The situationist-based theory used in *Test Card F* implies a remaining attachment to class struggle, progress, and technology. These questions are not addressed in the book. But this is, after all, an ongoing project, and perhaps we'll see further elaboration of these themes in the future from the Institute of Social Disengineering.

Test Card F is well written and is filled with lots of appropriated and detoured cartoons, collages, and photos, some of which are wickedly funny. Turn off the TV today (if, like me, you actually own one) and try something more fulfilling and requiring more brain activity—like reading this book.

Test Card F

Review by Alex Trotter

Test Card F by the Institute of Social Disengineering (AK Press, 22 Luton Place, Edinburgh, EH8 9PE, Scotland/POB 40682, San Francisco, CA 94140) 80pp., \$6.00/£3.50 paper.

You may be familiar already with Jerry Mander's "arguments for the elimination of television" or Neil Postman's *Amusing Ourselves to Death*. Now, from a more radical perspective, comes *Test Card F*, "part of a continuing body of propaganda" from the Institute of Social Disengineering, a situationist-inspired group in England. Their target in a broad sense is political and cultural representation in general (and the capitalist system supported by it), but their specific target is television, and the ways it serves as a perfect tool of social control.

Television is completely worthless, they argue, above all for the passivity it induces in its spectators and the distraction it poses from confrontation with real-life miseries. It's not only the bread-and-circus aspect of television—the moronic entertainment it offers with its sitcoms, soap operas, etc.—or the inanity of commercials that the book attacks.

A good part of *Test Card F* is devoted to shattering the myth of the "objectivity" of televised news broadcasts. The process of

editing creates vivid, beguiling, and convincing sequences that *did* not happen that way in real life, and has considerable power to manipulate the emotions of the viewers. The middle-class journalists and capitalist owners of mass media present only the news and viewpoints they wish to be heard. Most news "sources" turn out to be...surprise, the government, the police, large corporations, and so on. The consensus of "public opinion" and "democratic choice" is manufactured, not spontaneous. Spectators are carefully and subtly herded into preordained conclusions by the ideology of visible pseudoreality. Numerous examples—the Gulf war, the Northern Irish struggle, the Tiananmen Square demonstrations, the British miners' strike of 1984, and the L.A. riot of 1992, are used to reveal the media's lies and distortions.

Baudrillard gets a quote or two here, but the authors are no postmodernist academics resigned to the invincibility of the screen. Nor do they accept the notions of the Left that TV is reformable, that there can be such a thing as TV for the people, the workers, the oppressed, etc. They criticize organizations such as Earth First!, Act Up, and Class War for seeking representation in the media. They also reject the 1989 Situationist International exhibition at ICA in London as another example of official recu-

Dirty Tricks Cops Use

Review by Alex Trotter

Dirty Tricks Cops Use (and Why They Use Them) by Bart Rommel, Loompanics, 154pp. paper

Although the viewpoint expressed in this book is generally pro-police, it contains much useful information for anyone (such as an anti-statist) who wants to learn how the police stretch or break the law in enforcing the law. Explained herein are real-life techniques the cops use to extract confessions, obtain search warrants without probable cause, plant or manipulate evidence to justify seizure of property or magnify a criminal charge, circumvent the Miranda warning (the suspect's "right to remain silent"), and harass, torture, and even "execute" suspects.

Many of the techniques are legal but devious all the same. Particularly interesting are the descriptions of standard psychological ploys such as the phantom charge, flattery, pretending sympathy, pressure on the suspect's family, divide and conquer (when dealing with more than one suspect), and the classic good

A Voice in the Wilderness

Review by Paul Z. Simons

Future Primitive by John Zerzan (Autonomea, POB 568, Williamsburgh Station, Brooklyn, New York 11211-0568, 1994) 185pp. \$7.00 (+\$2 p&h) paper.

"In those days came John, preaching in the wilderness of Judaea,...for this is he that was spoken of by the prophet Esaias, saying, 'The voice of one crying in the wilderness.' And the same John had his raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins; and his meat was locusts and wild honey. But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees come to his baptism he said unto them, 'O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees; and every tree which bringeth forth not good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire...'"

-Apologies to Saint Matthew, Jahweh, et al

The most uncanny thing about Zerzan is his ability to get to the nut of any given problem, and then to dissect the fucking thing. I first started paying attention to Zerzan at about the time that his first collection *Elements of Refusal* was published. That book was sufficient to make you want to kill your landlord, boss, TV, alarm clock, Oxford English Dictionary, an art museum curator and the local horticulturalist. He tore into just about every founding principle

cop/bad cop scenario—all of them designed to play upon the suspect's emotional vulnerabilities.

Also explained are concepts such as "curb-stone justice," sting operations (entrapment), and the uses to which confiscated guns, money, and drugs are put to provide alibi weapons for dirty operations, pay off informers, or simply for officers' personal aggrandizement.

In a democracy, there are, in theory at least, limits on what the police can do. Sometimes cops get caught and prosecuted for their transgressions by the very system they're sworn to serve. The author makes the case that police once had greater leeway to do their thing, and that much of the deception they practice today is necessitated by the limits put on their power by civil rights legislation and liberal Supreme Court decisions. Hmmm...

The book is mostly concerned with the ways American patrol officers contend with "common criminals," but there is also a section dealing with political cases, espionage, and counterinsurgency, drawing on such sources as the FBI, Mossad, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and the "Special Branch" of British intelligence.

Dirty Tricks... contains a lot of mundane material, but it's still the kind of thing that non-street-smart readers will be encountering for the first time. If you want to know how Officer Friendly really thinks and behaves, read this book; don't rely on television mythology. It will add to your sense of wonderment as to why anyone would want to be a cop.

of civilization with the gusto of a starving pit bull on a side of beef. The book also contains some of the most insightful historical essays to be produced during the 70s and 80s. Now along comes *Future Primitive*, the second compilation from Zerzan....

The book contains four essays previously published in *Anarchy* and *Demolition Derby*, some definitions from the Nihilists Dictionary, also previously printed in *Anarchy*, and two book reviews which were previously published but for the life of me I can't figure out where. They do, however, look familiar.

Of the first four essays my personal favorite is "The Catastrophe of Post-Modernism." This is so for a lot of reasons, not the least of which is Jacques Derrida's effect on a personal relationship of mine with a senior in philosophy at Vassar (oral sex and deconstruction are mutually exclusive, go figure). But that's another story. Postmodernism (pm), originally an aesthetic theory, is now as prevalent in cultural discourse as dog shit on an Amsterdam sidewalk. Zerzan, in classic form, goes for pm as the ultimate muddling of theory. Unable to arrive at an original thesis, pm instead wallows in ambiguity, denies history and context in favor of linguistic games which neither clarify nor enlighten. Critique, where it is found in pm, lashes out at anything that could potentially be found outside culture or language. Significantly, and Zerzan hits this button many times, such a critique destroys, or at least denies the existence of two of the most important concepts in modern critical theory, Nature and Subject. I find it significant also that while pm theorists busily negate what has been and what could be, they stand and stare in stupefied fascination of what is, and praise it as all that ever will be. Zerzan also points out another of the most dangerous aspects of pm, the denial of totality, a denial which is the mainstay of the work of both Lyotard and to a lesser extent Foucault. An *a posteriori* rejection on their part, in complete defiance of all empirical data, and one that leaves critical theorists without a target, indeed unarmed and naked. The essay is exceptional and well-timed, the sooner pm is left to roll in its own vomit (and then to deconstruct the experience), the better.

"Future Primitive" the title essay of the book expands and gives depth to one of Zerzan's overarching themes, the fullness and beauty of hunter-gatherer society in stark contrast to Monday Night Football at Bannigans. I liked the essay because it gave Zerzan room to flesh out some of the counterpoint arguments that he has used in his earlier works, particularly those dealing with time, agriculture, number and language. Of real interest in the essay is the wealth of scholarship which has accumulated over the past two decades concerning the culture and lifestyle of hunter-gatherer groups. Of course Zerzan also uses his counterpoint argumentative style but this time by repeatedly referring back to the current nightmare called society.

In the "Mass Psychology of Misery" Zerzan turns to the psychologization of contemporary

society. Among other issues touched on here is the mad proliferation of therapies, treatments and drugs developed to counter the overpowering dehumanization attendant upon modern society. He also raises issues of the concurrent development of psychology and social control, a button he pushes by mentioning of the name Elton Mayo. It was Mayo who experimented in the Hawthorne factory by placing "good" workers next to "bad" workers to observe the results. The "bad" workers (inexplicably) became "better." I would have laid even odds on the opposite occurring. He also slams the "Human Potential" movement, (e.g. EST, Primal Scream, Scientology, ad nauseam) as positing an *a priori* acceptance of social reality, and then building their therapies in response to the resultant psychological immiseration. There are also a few reassuring paragraphs dealing with the new age mentality (or lack thereof). Being a current resident of Colorado I completely approved of this diatribe, as more than once I've wanted to garrote some moon-faced, tie-dyed, vegetable-eating ex-hippie with his own pony tail. The one thing that I think would have really added a mean twist to this essay is a comparison with psychiatry in the Soviet Union (circa 1975) with concurrent Western psychobabble. Ah well, maybe next time?

The final essay, "Tonality and the Totality," I didn't like. Not that Zerzan's conclusions are in all likelihood wrong. I am sure there must be some linkage between the unfolding domestication in Western history and the development towards tonality in music. On the other hand if I hadn't inadvertently picked up a Sex Pistols LP in 1978 I probably wouldn't be typing this review at 1 in the morning so bleary eyed from coffee and lack of sleep that right now my feet look like puddles of liquid marble. I also admit that one of my favorite feelings is driving as fast as I can get away with it up some canyon road, one hand on the wheel, the other on an icy Moosehead Ale, wind in the face and Nirvana blaring at top volume....

The second section of the book is a collection of definitions from the Nihilist's Dictionary, a project that Zerzan has pursued in the pages of this journal. There are some classic references here and more than one point well taken. An example from the definition for "Nice-ism" is worth quoting. "Cases of niceism include the peaceniks, whose ethic of niceness puts them—again and again—in stupid, ritualized, no-win situations, those Earth First!ers who refuse to confront the thoroughly reprehensible ideology at the top of 'their' organization, and *Fifth Estate*, whose highly important contributions now seem to be in danger of an eclipse by liberalism." Zang! One sentence and most of my favorite idiots get taken down a peg, though Zerzan is too gentle with *Fifth Estate*, a journal deserving of nothing but utter contempt, a veritable sewer of isms and victimist drivel. There are some other good selections here, particularly "Progress" in which Zerzan nails this most central tenet of Western ideology, and "Community" where he points out that the

Continued on next page

Killed in the Line of Duty

Review by Tad Kepley

Killed in the Line of Duty: A Study of Selected Felonious Killings of Law Enforcement Officers (Paladin Press, 1994).

This study, conducted by the Uniform Crime Reports Section of the F.B.I. and made publicly available by Paladin Press, wasn't the how-to manual for which I'd fancifully hoped. Instead, the report was predictably tailored to *prevent* further fatal assaults on friendly representatives of the "law enforcement community" (sic), thereby making it—shall we say—a how-not-to manual.

Fascinating for the insight it offers into the twisted worldview of the coercive arbiters of ruling class interests—the cowardly hired thugs and goons commonly known as cops—*Killed in the Line of Duty* is unintentionally hilarious in tone, pseudo-academic in approach, and shot through with all the superior-minded pomposity we've come to expect. Broken up into sections of statistics and graphs detailing age of police officers executed, geographical location of the act(s), whether or not body armor was worn, age of the "offenders", "professional affiliation" of the "victim" (sic) officers, type of officer assignment, and "psychological" assessments of the cop-killers, the study was obviously a pork-barrel project conducted by Bureau bureaucrats in order to meet budget demands.

By far the most ludicrous elements of the study are the psychological profiles of the "offenders". According to the study, most cop-killers are of the "anti-social/psychopathic" personality type—characterized, this study says, by "inability to sustain monogamous relationships", "lack of fixed address for more than a month at a time", a sense of "entitlement to the property of others", "inability to

hold steady full-time employment", "history of problems with authority figures", etc., etc. Needless to say, these cliché demonizations would apply to a large proportion of Anarchy's readership or anyone living outside of a workaday, suburban, commuter/consumer existence. Anyone pulling such a stunt must not be satisfied with the prospect of forty-odd years of wage slavery; and are, IMHO, "anti-social" (I'm surprised they didn't list offenders credit ratings). It would be interesting to see juxtaposed here the revealing statistics on police suicide, spouse abuse, alcoholism, etc. Getting wasted, smoking a few rocks, and kicking the living shit out of your wife before you go to church is a way of life for thousands of police officers—one sadly imposed upon them by the "incredible stress" of police work. Oh well, at least they can hold a steady job. At least they're not crazy.

Of course, anyone who would dare challenge the supreme, divinely ordained authority of the state *must* be crazy. The soft-cop specialists and "expert" raconteurs of capitalism's schizoid hypocrisy—the "sociologists" and "psychologists" of law enforcement—stand ably by to fulfill their role with the provision of endless, meaningless, personality assessments and academic (and therefore supposedly more legitimate) profiles of the "criminal" mind.

Tellingly, The only "behavioral descriptors" of executed officers to be found in this study are that they were "friendly to everyone", "well-liked by community and department", "use(d) force only as (a) last resort", "tends to look for 'good' in others", "service oriented—tends to perceive self as more public relations than law enforcement" and is described by acquaintances as "laid back" and "easy going". Apparently,

it took untold man hours and equally untold thousands of dollars for an F.B.I. think tank to figure out what the slave population of Plantation America knows already—that to be a successful overseer you must be a complete natural-born asshole who openly flaunts his (and here, to use their own favorite psycho-social pejoratives) anti-social and/or psychotic personality dysfunctions. It's not the fault of the "offenders" that they weren't able to tell a "laid back" officer from a "non-laid-back" one, and it is extremely unlikely that predatory wanna-be cop-slayers cruise around looking for "easy going" prey—considering that *all* of these killings this study examines were spur-of-the-moment incidents.

The F.B.I. study's implicit admonition to the police officer is that he/she must be constantly vigilant—meaningsuspicious, hostile, arrogant, aggressive, apparently even to a larger degree than at present. A "the best defense is a good offense" approach to policing a rebellious population is apparently the Federal prescription for preventing further cop-wastings. In such an approach is glaringly evidenced the lack of commitment on the part of cops to uphold their hypocritically sworn role as "public servants"—every "civilian" is to be regarded as a criminal *first*, a member of the "public" to "serve" later, if ever.

But the real solution is simpler and would avoid creating even more hostility in an ever-more cop-hostile populace, and again, it is one that seems to have zoomed by the Fed researchers. A majority of the incidents examined here occurred on "routine" traffic stops in which the officer killed was supposedly lax in his/her approach to the vehicle, focussed on only one of the occupants of the vehicle, etc. The way to keep from getting shot is very simply to *leave people alone*, but such an obvious conclusion escaped the well-trained investigators of the Bureau. The background profiles of the offenders in this study show that the majority of them had been convicted of crimes previously, a great many of them for non-violent crimes against property or violations of the present ridiculous drug prohibition. It seems likely that these "anti-social" individuals who killed cops perhaps had been subjected to cavity-search humiliation and nightstick-on-phonebook coercion just a few too many times at the hands of capital's goons—or maybe they were just sick of the softer coercions of self-replicating consumer capital itself.

The crime of killing a cop is viewed as a heinous one by the liars who make laws because it is rightly seen as a militant attack on imposed social order. The study quotes one convicted prisoner of the class war as saying "I was determined never to go to prison again". The majority of the wage slave population of America has little sympathy for slain cops; as too many times they have received no sympathy from the pigs themselves. When a cop is killed, teary-eyed assholes pop up on TV screens lamenting the loss of "such a fine officer and member of the community...killed in the performance of his sacred duty", while

Future Primitive

From previous page

reality of the term does such violence to the concept that it has become impossible to say "community" without meaning the mess we are in.

Two book reviews complete the collection. After thinking a while about it I have decided that writing a book review of a book review is far too self-referential and incestuous, so I'll leave this section alone. Though he does peg Bookchin, the sheep in wolf's clothing, for the windbag reformist he is.

Two things invariably arise when reading the works of John Zerzan, the first is a question and the second is a realization. Every time I've turned someone on to Zerzan's essays they always ask a variation of the following, "Is he saying we should return to a hunter-gatherer existence or is this just a methodology for critique?" To which I usually reply, "I dunno, only he can answer that." And to be honest that is exactly my feeling on the matter. In one of his posters Zerzan has written, "There are at least as many possible futures as there are people." And, maybe, for Zerzan, this hunter-

gatherer society is one of his. The second part of the question regarding critical method is for me the most important, and the one where Zerzan will have the most historical impact. This raving voice in the wilderness has provided the foundation for a late twentieth century, anti-authoritarian, post-industrial critique. The methodology is thorough, aggressive and unrelenting. Every institution is called into question, examined and dynamited. It is also significant that Zerzan, far from synthesizing a method, has erected his utopia, the hunter-gatherer society, and uses this as his criterion for judging all other human institutions. This is a significant development, and will doubtless be utilized further by other theorists. Zerzan has also revalued violence, riot, looting and insurrection as essential features of refusal. A revaluation, by the way, that was long overdue. Peaceful protest being one of the last symptoms of the hangover of the '60s. In the final analysis Zerzan has done what few have even attempted, he has provided a tool for critique to a milieu which had previously had only a single critical tool, Liberty. He has given a straight razor to the children, I wonder what they'll do with it?

watching those TV screens sit millions of cheering, jeering Americans celebrating the deserved death of another smug, stupid, arrogant, violent jerk. The law enforcement community is aware of this, and each time one of their gang is slain, swear revenge and retribution. As the ruling elite has no interest in eliminating crime as it would remove the alleged, publicly stated need for police, the rich continue to fuck us and the police behave like the pricks they are, creating the need for yet more police to violently keep in line a progressively enraged citizenry. As repeatedly evidenced historically this is a losing battle, and one the forces of "order" can only win through distraction and application of demonstrably excessive *punitive* force on a huge scale, which they are more than willing—and prepared—to do. What scares them is that we outnumber them.

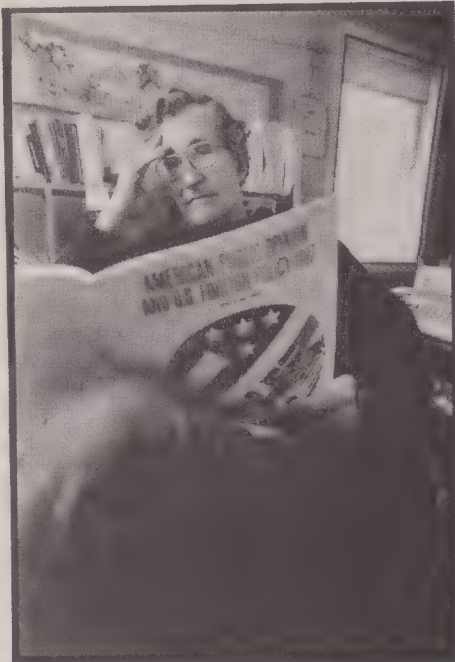
An armed hired goon is an armed hired goon, and since, by the state's own admission, less than 38% (a liberal estimate) of the total American registered voting population chose to waste their time with the latest electoral sham, these armed goons can no longer even remotely claim to be representing the interests of the "democratic" majority. It's become increasingly difficult to conceal the fact that cops are nothing more than a tuggish batch of mercenary sociopaths recruited into a well-equipped street-gang with the repression of the propertyless as its goal and force as its means. The police represent, and always have, the interests—largely economic—of a small minority, yet pout when an abused populace regards them as the malicious private mercenary force/occupying army that they so obviously are. Increasingly, even the most cowed individuals view the police as bad as, if not worse than, the supposedly seething hordes of horny, violent criminals who (according to cops and the media) threaten to lay waste the glories of Xtian civilization, private property, and representative democracy.

As the violently-imposed "order" of the parasite class continues to deteriorate under the onslaught of contemptuous refusal from us, the host animal, to comply with their demands, there will be even more demands made with increasing stridency and ferocity. L.A. scared the living fucking shit out of Them, and recently the almost unbelievably authoritarian "Omnibus Crime Bill" was bumped through the rubber-stamp of Congress in an attempt to shore up Their house-of-cards "authority" and the three-card-monte game They call "the economy". They've had to hire more shills in the crowd around the dealing table to pose as winners and to intimidate and beat the shit out of anyone who catches the dealer cheating in this fixed game. With calls for more prisons, a national ID card system, and the full nationalization of the civil police, the lords of property and moralist propriety have practically admitted defeat as well as their inability to indefinitely continue to peacefully dupe the populace, but they have also announced their full intention to keep their ill-gotten gains by *any means necessary*.

Killed in the Line of Duty is only one in a huge number of similar documents that should be of immense interest to anti-authoritarians—especially as we find ourselves in more open conflict with the bullies on the playground. Go play nice, now.

Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media

Review by Jason McQuinn



Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media by Necessary Illusions, Montréal, Canada (Released on video by: Zeitgeist Films Ltd., 247 Centre St., New York, NY 10013/Phone orders: 212-274-1989) \$59.95 double-cassette 94 min. & 72 min. in length.

Considering that it is a rare event for an explicit anarchist to receive serious air play in a documentary shown in major theaters, and even on television, the recent release of the video version of Mark Achbar and Peter Wintonick's *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media* has a special significance for North American anarchists. Here is a very accessible, three-hour examination of the views of the most well-known radical foreign-policy critic in the United States, who also happens to be a libertarian socialist.

Public interest in Noam Chomsky centers on his intelligent, forthright and unequivocal criticism of U.S. foreign policy, and secondarily on his work in linguistics. The details of his fundamental political views are usually only of incidental interest to his normal audiences, but will be of primary interest to many readers of this magazine. As the title indicates, the documentary primarily focusses on Chomsky's critique of the media, although it also includes background material on his formative influences, the importance of his work in linguistics, and an overall view of his radical activities and perspective—which surprisingly emphasizes his anarcho-leftist views.

Chomsky's straightforward media critique

centers on exposing the not-so-hidden function of the mass media in contemporary society. Although Chomsky never tires of conceding that the U.S. "is the freest country in the world" (a somewhat puzzling concession, given that it's not necessarily obvious, unless one employs a fairly restricted meaning for "freedom"), he also emphasizes that the mass media, by their nature as powerful corporate institutions, function to propagandize and indoctrinate the general population, when they're not just promoting peoples' immobility and isolation. As Chomsky repeatedly notes, as long as mass media exist in this society, they will exist to defend the system and not to undermine it. This is quite natural and to be expected.

However, according to Chomsky, this doesn't mean that media can't be used by radicals in effective ways to some degree. With the help of sympathetic journalists and periodic thaws in the ongoing propaganda cold war, he thinks people should use the mass media for all they're worth. He realizes that corporations are not "democratic institutions," and the mass media are corporate-owned. And he isn't afraid to answer the question "How do you make corporations more democratic?" by responding that "The only thing you can do is get rid of them." But in the meantime, he believes that much more can be done by gaining more access, even though he acknowledges that the format and ideological requirements for access are biased to prevent effective use of the media by radicals.

Chomsky also promotes alternative media, or, as one of his questioners in the video puts it, media that is "citizen controlled," as opposed to state or corporate controlled." Chomsky emphasizes that "alternative media are extremely important," but the are "in for quite a battle." He goes on to mention some of his favorite media projects, including his long-term involvement with the relatively unimaginative and uncritically leftist *Z Magazine*, South End Press, and David Barsamian's "Alternative Radio," along with "Non-Corporate News" (an example of community and public access TV).

Somewhat surprisingly, given the usual vacillations we've all seen by too many academic "radicals," Chomsky openly speaks of his views in terms of left Marxism, libertarian socialism, and anarchism. When he gets around to explaining his social views in a nutshell, he says that both "small scale experiments over periods of time" and revolutions over shorter periods have demonstrated the potential for libertarian social change. He uses the examples of the Israeli kibbutzim and the Spanish Revolution of 1936, though he glosses over the problems of both—the conformity and subordination to the state of the former, as well as the internal contradictions of anarcho-syndicalist organization in the latter. (For example, he states that the Spanish Revolution was

Continued on next page

Invisible Governance

Review by J.F. Rodenbeck

Invisible Governance: The Art of African Micropolitics by David Hecht & Maliqalim Simone (Autonomedia, POB 568, Williamsburgh Station, Brooklyn, NY 11211-0568) 188pp. \$7.00 paper.

The informant occupies an interesting position in the political economy of secrets. Mediating between the official and the unofficial, the overt and the underground, the enlightened and the obscured, her assembly of fictions is trusted by neither to be complete but needed by both to somehow grease their symbiosis. And finding reliable informants is one of the great difficulties of working in an ethnographic "there." Writing itself doesn't escape this problem, no matter how instrumentalized the language: as readers we rely on what authors tell us, but we'll read between the lines, use subterfuge when we have to, to tease sense from a text. Ethnography, a specific type of writing, uneasily negotiates the imaginary borders separating cultures. In the most interesting work (Taussig comes to mind), roles become confused and we find both observer and observed whispering secrets through the porous membrane of essentialized difference, finding the leaks. And reading, we conspire with the text.

"Observers of Africa tend to fall into two camps," write David Hecht & Maliqalim Simone. "In one, there are the Neo-Romantics, Afro-centrics and old-fashioned modernists. They associate Africa with original, back-to-the-roots, noble savage, tell-it-like-it-is, essential 'truths.' In the other, there are economic analysts, development specialists and charity workers who collate stacks and stacks of 'scientific' data for the purpose of proving that Africa lacks the material and human resources necessary to sustain itself and survive."

For both the results of their studies are already scripted, needing only a few blanks filled in by anecdote or survey. These are discourses in which Africa is always the other, irreducibly elsewhere, aboriginal. The challenge, then, is not to produce yet another set of stories about the dark continent, or another longitudinal demographic study but, the authors propose, "to insert oneself within the anamorphic matrices of conflicting knowledges and desires" operating at the popular level. *Invisible Governance* presents itself as speculative from the outset, and the authors eschew any project to find the "real" Africa in favor of evoking, with the help of anecdotes and images, the fluidity of economic, political and social relations.

The first question, of course, is what is the Africa being discussed? Nowhere in this book will you find the answer. Examples and stories come from across the continent and from the African diaspora: people travel from country to country, working an international net of extended family and friends; money and trade cross closed borders under the eye of government agents; suburbs like Paris, New York, Moscow, Cuba proliferate; and at the Blue Nile bowling club in Addis Ababa the music, "with its origins in ancient Ethiopian tradition, has come to

sound like a mix of apocalyptic Las Vegas show tunes, Albert Ayler free jazz, and Arab popular music." Africa is nothing so much as a flow of energy, circulation, inexplicable excess.

There are two characters that stand out in this text. One is Amadou Bamba (1850-1925), the founder of the Muslim Mouride sect in Senegal, who in his time was considered an extremist by the French colonial forces. Expatriated repeatedly during his lifetime, Bamba is a figure who represents exile and return. His stance in the one photograph of him that survives, a simple frontal shot of a man wrapped to the eyes in a white jelabia and scarf, is read by Mourides as a political metaphor for strength from a weak position. Thousands of allegorical images repeating this motif can be found around Senegal: "He may be surrounded by the French colonial soldiers who have taken him prisoner, or visited by the mythic El Barak who is said to have given him a message from Allah. He may be pictured riding gallantly, on a horse, or standing next to Walt Disney's Goofy or the French cartoon character Tin Tin. Or he may be shown in a lion's den like the prophet Daniel. Yet always, he remains unchanged.... Sometimes Bamba is the negative space when his white jelabia becomes the sky in landscapes of New York, Jerusalem, or Touba, the Mourides's holy city." In the image reproduced on the back cover, a jagged halo (derived from the Statue of Liberty's crown) circles Bamba's head like a cartoon explosion. A cypher of resistance, the figure is closed to us except for the staring eyes.

Mami Wata, by contrast, is a popular pan-African deity connected with water and desire and usually represented as a mermaid. She's very postmodern: "Desiring desire, Mami Wata cannot be thought of as any one thing. So she is associated with the latest trends from Paris to Peking. Mami Wata shrines may have copies of *Vogue* magazine lying around or a poster of the most recent Indian beauty competition or, in some cases, televisions and VCRs, with tapes such as *Jaws*, *The Last Wave*, *Splash*, or the Disney cartoon *The Little Mermaid*." From the end of the 19th century up until the early 1970s a German perfume company manufactured a product named after her (and marketed throughout West Africa); images of her may be printed in India or England; and even Madonna's video, "Cherish," in which the singer appears with a half-fish, half-boy, appeals to Mami Wataists.

Two contradictory figures inhabiting the same territory of silent resistance and of brash appropriation. The same could be said, in fact, of the authors' strategies in writing this book. The authors refuse essentialist and statistical methods, and resort instead to an suggestive bricolage. Since neither author is ever identified as the writer of any one section, one is constantly in a state of suspicion as to just who "I" is. We become self-conscious readers. Occasionally the writing lapses into rather general and polemic blandness. Towards the end, for example, we read: "For the most part, survival

necessitates operating outside formal economic frameworks, and things are often achieved for reasons that no one can precisely account, which may explain the efficacy of beliefs in the supernatural. Dense interconnections are spread over a wide area and individuals bear socially overdetermined identities making them easy to be reached from different angles and for different purposes." This may all be true, but it could just as easily apply to Tad in Kansas as Ayyad in Accra. Such writing can be soporific, but, to be fair, it can also have a fortuitous distancing effect (i.e., what is our supernatural? how are we socially overdetermined?).

If there is any real complaint, though, it is that the picture seems a little rosy: no machete-wielding Hutu, nobody starving outside Khartoum. This is a book full of winners, people who manage at the micro level. A friend was in the Sudan a few years ago during a food shortage, and at meal times there was always someone who would—impossibly—find the crumbs he had left...and when that person had finished, there was a third person who would find the second person's crumbs. In the case of *Invisible Strategies* it's a problem of aestheticization, because even suffering becomes anecdotal—like the man who killed himself because his penis wouldn't detumescence there's kind of surplus of apparent pleasure. Could this be a strategy of "too much of a good thing"? Maybe we're too saturated with the pathos of a mediated Africa. In the precession of simulacra Madonna actually comes up again, in a passage of convulsive beauty: "In one recent demonstration, a crowd made up mostly of Muslim school girls dressed in Madonna outfits protested teacher corruption, throwing stones at police and then commandeering a public bus before eventually being overcome with tear gas."

Manufacturing Consent

From previous page

"simply destroyed by force," as if this were the whole story). Admittedly it is hard to introduce people to the complexity of the situation in a few sentences, but at times Chomsky's gestures toward accessibility can threaten to simplify his message to a self-defeating extent.

For one example, he emphasizes that "The way things change is because lots of people are working all the time..." in movements over long periods. "You get a very false picture of this from the history books...Martin Luther King was not the civil rights movement. Martin Luther King can appear in the history books because lots of people whose names will never be known were working in the South." Despite its fundamental truth, this account obviously leaves out some major problems like the prevalence of recuperation and the self-contradictory role of movement "leaders"—unfortunately, consistent lacunae in Chomsky's worldview.

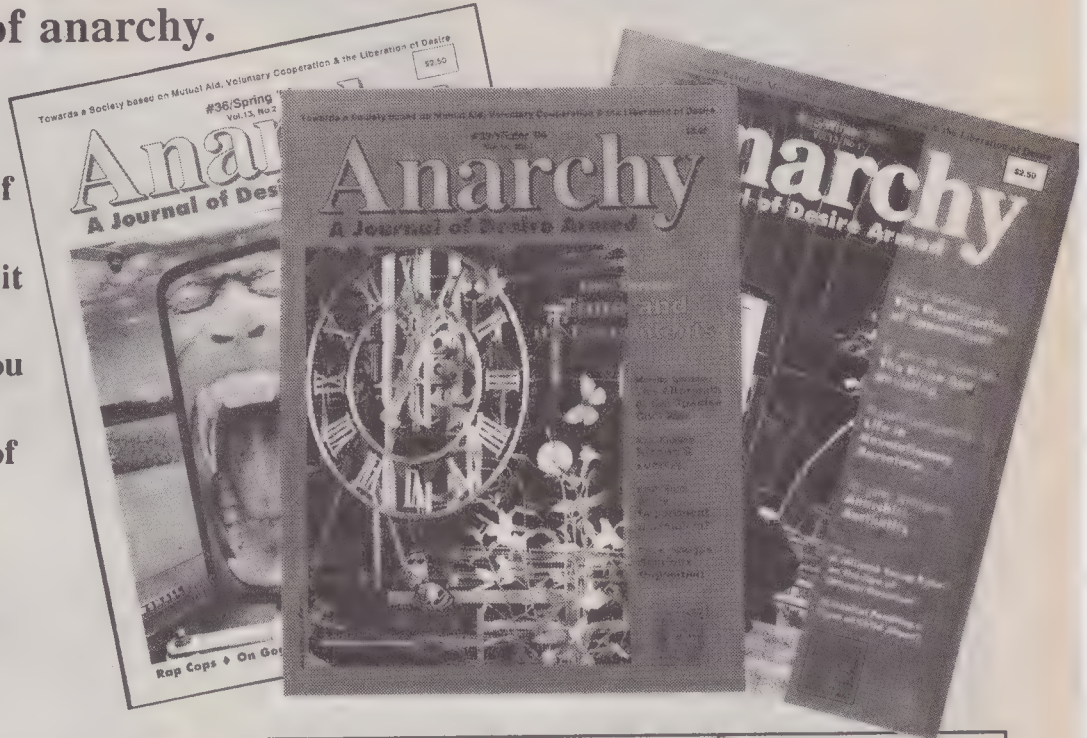
Despite the many problems with Chomsky's rather pedestrian political stance, his is definitely a voice worth encountering, and may well function to introduce more people to the potential value of an anarchist perspective than anyone else currently active. And for this reason alone, this video should be shown at every possible venue to as many people as possible, beginning right now.

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The Revolution of Everyday Life

Chapter

20

by
Raoul
Vaneigem

1.

In this fractured world, whose common denominator throughout history has been hierarchical social power, only one freedom has ever been tolerated: the freedom to change the numerator, the freedom to prefer one master to another. Freedom of choice so understood has increasingly lost its attraction—especially since it became the official doctrine of the worst totalitarianisms of the world, East and West. The generalization of the refusal to make such a Hobson's choice—to do no more than change employers—has in turn occasioned a restructuring of State power. All the governments of the industrialized or semi-industrialized world now tend to model themselves—to a greater or lesser extent, depending on their nation's level of development after a single prototype: the common aim is to rationalize, to “automate”, the old forms of domination. And herein lies freedom's first chance. The bourgeois democracies have clearly shown that individual freedoms can be tolerated only insofar as they entrench upon and destroy one another; now that this is clear, it has become impossible for any government, no matter how sophisticated, to wave the *muleta* of freedom without everyone discerning the sword concealed behind it. In fact the constant evocation of freedom merely incites freedom to rediscover its roots in individual creativity, to break out of its official definition as the permitted, the licit, the tolerable—to shatter the benevolence of despotism.

Freedom's second chance comes once it has retrieved its creative authenticity, and is tied up with the very mechanisms of Power. It is obvious that abstract systems of exploitation and domination are human creations, brought into being and refined through the diversion or co-optation of creativity. The only forms of creativity that authority can deal with, or

Creativity, Spontaneity and Poetry

Man is in a state of creativity twenty-four hours a day. Once revealed, the scheming use of freedom by the mechanisms of domination produces a backlash in the form of an idea of authentic freedom inseparably bound up with individual creativity. The passion to create which issues from the consciousness of constraint can no longer be pressed into the service of production, consumption or organization (1). Spontaneity is the mode of existence of creativity: not an isolated state, but the unmediated experience of subjectivity. Spontaneity concretizes the passion for creation and is the first moment of its practical realization: the precondition of poetry, of the impulse to change the world in accordance with the demands of radical subjectivity (2). The qualitative exists wherever creative spontaneity manifests itself. It entails the direct communication of the essential. It is poetry's chance. A crystallization of possibilities, a multiplier of knowledge and practical potential, and the proper *modus operandi* of intelligence. Its criteria are *sui generis*. The qualitative leap precipitates a chain reaction which is to be seen in all revolutionary moments; such a reaction must be awoken by the scandal of free and total creativity (3). Poetry is the organizer of creative spontaneity to the extent that it reinforces spontaneity's hold on reality. Poetry is an act which engenders new realities: it is the fulfillment of radical theory, the revolutionary act *par excellence*.

wishes to deal with, are those which the spectacle can co-opt. But what people do officially is nothing compared with what they do in secret. People usually associate creativity with works of art, but what are works of art alongside the creative energy displayed by everyone a thousand times a day: seething unsatisfied desires, daydreams in search of a foothold in reality, feelings at once confused and luminously clear, ideas and gestures presaging nameless upheavals. All this energy, of course, is relegated to anonymity and deprived of adequate means of expression, imprisoned by survival and obliged to find outlets by sacrificing its qualitative richness and conforming to the spectacle's categories. think of Cheval's palace, the Watts

Towers, Fourier's inspired system, or the pictorial universe of Douanier Rousseau. Even more to the point, consider the incredible diversity of *anyone's* dreams—landscapes the brilliance of whose colors qualitatively surpass the finest canvases of a Van Gogh. Every individual is constantly building an ideal world within himself, even as his external motions bend to the requirements of soulless routine.

Nobody, no matter how alienated, is without (or unaware of) an irreducible core of creativity, a *camera obscura* safe from intrusion from lies and restraints. If ever social organization extends its control to this stronghold of humanity, its domination will no longer be exercised over anything save robots, or

corpses. And, in a sense, this is why consciousness of creative energy increases, paradoxically enough, as a function of consumer society's efforts to co-opt it.

Argus is blind to the danger right in front of him. Where quantity reigns, quality has no legal existence; but this is the very thing that safeguards and nourishes it. I have already mentioned the fact that the dissatisfaction bred by the manic pursuit of quantity calls forth a radical desire for the qualitative. The more oppression is justified in terms of the freedom to consume, the more the malaise arising from this contradiction exacerbates the thirst for total freedom. The crisis of production based capitalism pointed up the element of repressed creativity in the energy expended by the worker, and Marx gave us the definitive expose of this alienation of creativity through forced labor, through the exploitation of the producer. Whatever the capitalist system and its avatars (their antagonisms notwithstanding) lose on the production front they try to make up for in the sphere of consumption. The idea is that, as they gradually free themselves from the imperatives of production, men should be trapped by the newer obligations of the consumer. By opening up the wasteland of "leisure" to a creativity liberated at long last thanks to reduced working hours, our kindly apostles of humanism are really only raising an army suitable for training on the parade-ground of a consumption based economy. Now that the alienation of the consumer is being exposed by the dialectic internal to consumption itself, what kind of prison can be devised for the highly subversive forces of individual creativity? As I have already pointed out, the rulers last chance here is to turn us all into organizers of our own passivity.

With touching candor, Dewitt Peters remarks that, "If paints, brushes, and canvas were handed out to everyone who wanted them, the results might be quite interesting". It is true that if this policy were applied in a variety of well-defined and well-policed spheres, such as the theater, the plastic arts, music, writing, etc., and in a general way to any such sphere susceptible of total isolation from all others, then the system might have a hope of endowing people with the consciousness of the artist, i.e., the consciousness of someone who makes a profession of displaying his creativity in

the museums and shopwindows of culture. The popularity of such a culture would be a perfect index of Power's success. Fortunately the chances of people being successfully "culturized" in this way are now slight. Do the cyberneticians really imagine that people can be persuaded to engage in free experiment with bounds laid down by authoritarian decree? Or that prisoners who have become aware of their creative capacity will be content to decorate their cells with original graffiti? They are more likely to apply their newfound penchant for experiment in other spheres: firearms, desires, dreams, self-realization techniques. Especially since the crowd is already full of agitators. No: the last possible way of co-opting creativity, which is the organization of artistic passivity, is happily doomed to failure.

"What I am trying to reach", wrote Paul Klee, "is a far-off point, at the sources of creation, where I suspect a single explanatory principle applies for man, animals, plants, fire, water, air and all the forces that surround us". As a matter of fact, this point is only far off in Power's lying perspective: the source of all creation lies in individual creativity; it is from this starting point that everything, being or thing, is ordered in accordance with poetry's grand freedom. This is the take-off point of the new perspective: that perspective for which everyone is struggling willy-nilly with all his strength and at every moment of his existence. "Subjectivity is the only truth" (Kierkegaard).

err cannot enlist true creativity. In 1869 the Brussels police thought they had found the famous gold of the International, about which the capitalists were losing so much sleep. They seized a huge strongbox hidden in some dark corner. When they opened it, however, they found only coal. Little did the police know that the pure gold of the International would always turn into coal if touched by enemy hands.

The laboratory of individual creativity transmutes the basest metals of daily life into gold through a revolutionary alchemy. The prime objective is to dissolve slave consciousness, consciousness of impotence, by releasing creativity's magnetic power; impotence is magically dispelled as creativity surges forth, genius serene in its self-assurance. So sterile on the plane of the race for pres-

tige in the spectacle, megalomania is an important phase in the struggle of the self against the combined forces of conditioning. The creative spark, which is the spark of true life, shines all the more brightly in the night of nihilism which at present envelops us. As the project of a better organization of survival aborts, the sparks will become more and more numerous and gradually coalesce into a single light, the promise of a new organization based this time on the harmonizing of individual wills. History is leading us to the crossroads where radical subjectivity is destined to encounter the possibility of changing the world. The crossroads of the reversal of perspective.

2.

Spontaneity. Spontaneity is the true mode of individual creativity, creativity's initial, immaculate form, unpolluted at the source and as yet unthreatened by the mechanisms of co-optation. Whereas creativity in the broad sense is the most equitably distributed thing imaginable, spontaneity seems to be confined to a chosen few. Its possession is a privilege of those whom long resistance to Power has endowed with a consciousness of their own value as individuals. In revolutionary moments this means the majority; in other periods, when the old mole works unseen, day by day, it is still more people than one might think. For so long as the light of creativity continues to shine, spontaneity has a chance.

"The new artist protests", wrote Tzara in 1919. "He no longer paints: he creates directly." The new artists of the future, constructors of situations to be lived, will undoubtedly have immediacy as their most succinct-though also their most radical demand. I say 'succinct' because it is important after all not to be confused by the connotations of the word 'spontaneity'. Spontaneity can never spring from internalized restraints, even subconscious ones, nor can it survive the effects of alienating abstraction and spectacular co-optation: it is a conquest, not a given. The reconstruction of the individual presupposes the reconstruction of the unconscious (of the construction of dreams).

What spontaneous creativity has lacked up to now is a clear consciousness of its poetry. The commonsense view has always treated spontaneity as a

Whatever the capitalist system and its avatars (their antagonisms notwithstanding) lose on the production front they try to make up for in the sphere of consumption. The idea is that, as they gradually free themselves from the imperatives of production, men should be trapped by the newer obligations of the consumer.

primary state, an initial stage in need of theoretical adaptation, of transposition into formal terms. This view isolates spontaneity, treats it as a thing in itself—and thus recognizes it only in the travestied forms which it acquires within the spectacle (e.g., action painting). In point of fact, spontaneous creativity carries the seeds of a self-sufficient development within itself. It is possessed of its own poetry.

For me spontaneity is immediate experience, consciousness of a lived immediacy threatened on all sides yet not alienated, not yet relegated to inauthenticity. The center of lived experience is that place where everyone comes closest to himself. Within this unique space-time we have the clear conviction that reality exempts us from necessity. Consciousness of necessity is always what alienates us. We have been taught to apprehend ourselves by default—in *absentia*, so to speak. But it takes a single moment of awareness of real life to eliminate all alibis, and consign the absence of future to the same void as the absence of past. Consciousness of the present harmonizes with lived experience in a sort of extemporization. The Pleasure this brings us—impoverished by its isolation, yet potentially rich because it reaches out towards an identical pleasure in other people—bears a striking resemblance to the enjoyment of jazz. At its best, improvisation in everyday life has much in common with jazz as evoked by Dauer: “The African conception of rhythm differs from the western in that it is perceived through bodily movement rather than aurally. The technique consists essentially in the introduction of discontinuity into the static imposed upon time by rhythm and meter. This discontinuity, which results from the existence of ecstatic centers of gravity out of time with the musical rhythm and meter proper, creates a constant tension be-

tween the static beat and the ecstatic beat which is superimposed on it”.

The instant of creative spontaneity is the minutest possible manifestation of reversal of perspective. It is a unitary moment, i.e., one and many. The eruption of lived pleasure is such that in losing myself, I find myself; forgetting that I exist, I realize myself. Consciousness of immediate experience lies in this oscillation, in this improvisational jazz. by contrast, thought directed towards lived experience with analytic intent is bound to remain detached from that experience. This applies to all reflection on everyday life, including, to be sure, the present one. To combat this, all I can do is try to incorporate an element of constant self-criticism, so as to make the work of co-optation a little harder than usual. The traveller who is always thinking about the length of the road before him tires more easily than his companion who lets his imagination wander as he goes along. Similarly, anxious attention paid to lived experience can only impede it, abstract it, and make it into nothing more than a series of memories to be.

If thought is really to find a basis in lived experience, it has to be free. The way to achieve this is to think *other* in terms of *the same*. As you make yourself, imagine another self who will make you one day in his turn. Such is my conception of spontaneity: the highest possible self-consciousness which is still inseparable from the self and from the world.

All the same, the paths of spontaneity are hard to find. Industrial civilization has let them become overgrown. And even when we find real life, knowing the best way to grasp it is not easy. Individual experience is also prey to insanity—a foothold for madness. Kierkegaard described this state of affairs as follows: “It is true that I have a lifebelt, but I cannot see the pole which is supposed to

pull me out of the water. This is a ghastly way to experience things”. The pole is there, of course, and no doubt everyone could grab onto it, though many would be so slow about it that they would die of anxiety before realizing its existence. But exist it does, and its name is radical subjectivity: the consciousness that all people have the same will to authentic self-realization, and that their subjectivity is strengthened by the perception of this subjective will in others. This way of getting out of oneself and radiating out, not some much towards others as towards that part of oneself that is to be found in others, is what gives creative spontaneity the strategic importance of a launching pad. The concepts and abstractions which rule us have to be returned to their source, to lived experience, not in order to validate them, but on the contrary to correct them, to turn them on their heads, to restore them to that sphere whence they derive and which they never should have left. This is a necessary precondition of peoples immanent realization that their individual creativity is indistinguishable from universal creativity. The sole authority is ones own lived experience: and this everyone must prove to everyone else.

3

The qualitative. I have already said that creativity, though equally distributed to all, only finds direct, spontaneous expression on specific occasions. These occasions are pre-revolutionary moments, the source of the poetry that changes life and transforms the world. They must surely be placed under the sign of that modern equivalent of grace, the qualitative. The presence of the divine abomination is revealed by a cloying spirituality suddenly conferred upon all, from the rustic to the most refined: on a cretin like Claudel as

readily as on a St. John of the Cross. Similarly, a gesture, an attitude, perhaps merely a word, may suffice to show that poetry's chance is at hand, that the total construction of everyday life, a global reversal of perspective—in short, the revolution—are immanent possibilities. The qualitative encapsulates and crystallizes these possibilities; it is a direct communication of the essential.

One day Kagame heard an old woman of Rwanda, who could neither read nor write, complaining: "Really, these whites are incurably simple-minded. They have no brains at all!" "How can you be so stupid?" he answered her. "I would like to see you invent so many unimaginably marvelous things as the whites have done." With a condescending smile, the old woman replied, "Listen my child. They may have learned a lot of things, but they have no brains. They don't understand anything." And she was right, for the curse of technological civilization, of quantified exchange and scientific knowledge, is that they have created no means of freeing people's spontaneous creativity *directly*; indeed, they do not even allow people to *understand* the world in any unmediated fashion. The sentiments expressed by the Rwandan woman—whom the Belgian administrator doubtless looked upon, from the heights of his superior intelligence, as a wild animal—are also to be found, though laden with guilt and thus tainted by crass stupidity, in the old platitude: "I have studied a great deal and now know that I know nothing." For it is false, in a sense, to say that study can teach us nothing, so long as it does not abandon the point of view of the totality. What this attitude refuses to see, or to learn, are the various stages of the qualitative—whatever, at whatever



Collage by James Koehnline

level, lends support to the qualitative. Imagine a number of apartments located immediately above one another, communicating directly by means of a central elevator and also indirectly linked by an outside spiral staircase. People in the different apartments have direct access to each other, whereas someone slowly climbing the spiral stairs is cut off from them. The former have access to the qualitative at all levels; the latter's knowledge is limited to one step at a time, and so no dialogue is possible between the two. Thus the revolutionary workers of 1848 were no doubt incapable of reading the *Communist Manifesto*, yet they possessed within themselves the essential lessons of Marx and Engels' text. In fact this is what made the Marxist theory truly radical. The objective conditions of the worker, expressed by the *Manifesto* on the level of theory, made it possible for the most illiterate proletarian to understand Marx *immediately* when the moment came. The cultivated man who uses his culture like a flame thrower is bound to get on with the uncultivated man who experiences what the first man puts in scholarly terms in the lived reality of his everyday life. The arms of criticism do indeed have to join forces with criticism by force of arms.

Only the qualitative permits a higher stage to be reached in one bound. This

is the lesson that any endangered group must learn, the pedagogy of the barricades. The graded world of hierarchical power, however, can only envisage knowledge as being similarly graded: the people on the spiral staircase, experts on the type and number of steps, meet, pass, bump into one another and trade insults. What difference does it make? At the bottom we have the autodidact gorged on platitudes, at the

top the intellectual collecting ideas like butterflies: mirror images of foolishness. The opposition between Miguel de Unamuno and the repulsive Millan Astray, between the paid thinker and his reviler, is an empty one; where the qualitative is not in evidence, intelligence is a fool's cap and bells.

The alchemists called those elements needed for the Great Work the *materia prima*. Paracelsus' description of this applies perfectly to the qualitative: "It is obvious that the poor possess it in greater abundance than the rich. People squander the good portion of it and keep only the bad. It is visible and invisible, and children play with it in the street. But the ignorant crush it underfoot everyday." The consciousness of this qualitative *materia prima* may be expected to become more and more acute in most minds as the bastions of specialized thought and graded knowledge collapse. Those who make a profession of creating, and those whose profession prevents them from creating, both artists and workers, are being pushed into the same nihilism by the process of proletarianization. This process, which is accompanied by resistance to it, i.e., resistance to co-opted forms of creativity, occurs amid such a plethora of cultural goods—records, films, paperback books—that once these commodities have been freed from the laws of

consumption they will pass immediately into the service of true creativity. The sabotage of the mechanisms of economic and cultural consumption is epitomized by young people who steal the books in which they expect to find confirmation of their radicalism.

Once the light of the qualitative is shed upon them, the most varied kinds of knowledge combine and form magnetic bridge powerful enough to overthrow the weightiest traditions. The force of plain spontaneous creativity increases knowledge at an exponential rate. Using makeshift equipment and negligible funds, a German engineer recently built an apparatus able to replace the cyclotron. If individual creativity can achieve such results with such meager stimulation, what marvels of energy must be expected from the qualitative shock waves and chain reactions that will occur when the spirit of freedom still alive in the individual re-emerges in collective form to celebrate the great social *fete*, with its joyful breaking of all taboos.

The job of a consistent revolutionary group, far from being the creation of a new type of conditioning, is to establish protected areas where the intensity of conditioning tends towards zero. Making each person aware of his creative potential will be a hapless task unless recourse is had to qualitative shock tactics. Which is why we expect nothing from the mass parties and other groupings based on the principle of quantitative recruitment. Something *can* be expected, on the other hand, from a micro-society formed on the basis of the radical acts or thought of its members, and maintained in a permanent state of practical readiness by means of strict theoretical discrimination. Cells successfully established along such lines would have every chance of wielding sufficient influence one day to free the creativity of the majority of people. The despair of the anarchist terrorist must be changed into hope; his tactics, worthy of some medieval warrior, must be changed into a modern strategy.

4

Poetry. What is poetry? It is the organization of creative spontaneity, the exploitation of the qualitative in accordance with its internal laws of coherence. Poetry is what the Greeks called

poiein, "making," but "making" restored to the purity of its moment of genesis—seen, in other words, from the point of view of the totality.

Poetry cannot exist in the absence of the qualitative. In this absence we find the opposite of the qualitative: information, the transitional program, specialization, reformism—the various guises of the fragmentary. The presence of the qualitative does not of itself guarantee poetry, however. A rich complex of signs and possibilities may get lost in confusion, disintegrate from lack of coherence, or be destroyed by crossed purposes. The criterion of effectiveness must remain supreme. Thus poetry is also radical theory completely embodied in action; the mortar binding tactics and revolutionary strategy; the high point of the great gamble on everyday life.

What is poetry? In 1895, during an ill-advised and seemingly foredoomed French railway workers' strike, one trade unionist stood up and mentioned an ingenious and cheap way of advancing the strikers' cause: "It takes two sous' worth of a certain substance used in the right way to immobilize a locomotive." Thanks to this bit of quick thinking, the tables were turned on the government and the capitalists. Here it is clear that poetry is the act which brings new realities into being, the act which reverses the perspective. The *materia prima* is within everyone's reach. Poets are those who know how to use it to best effect. Moreover, two sous' worth of some chemical is nothing compared with the profusion of unrivalled energy generated and made available to everyday life itself: the energy of the will to live, of desire unleashed, of the passion of love, the power of fear and anxiety, the hurricane of hatred and the wild impetus of the urge for destruction. What poetic upheavals may confidently be expected to stem from such universally experienced feelings as those associated with death, old age and sickness. The long revolution of everyday life, the only true poetry-made-by-all, will take this still marginal consciousness as its point of departure.

"What is poetry?" ask the aesthetes. And we may as well give them the obvious answer right away: poetry rarely involves poems these days. Most art works betray poetry. How could it be otherwise, when poetry and power are irreconcilable? At best, the artist's cre-

ativity is imprisoned, cloistered, within an unfinished *oeuvre*, awaiting the day when it will have the last word. Unfortunately, no matter how much importance the artist gives it, this last word, which is supposed to usher in perfect communication, will never be pronounced so long as the revolt of creativity has not realized art.

The African work of art—poem, music, sculpture or mask—is not considered complete until it has become a form of *speech*, a word-in-action, a creative element which *functions*. Actually this is true for more than African art. There is no art in the world which does not seek to function; and to function—even on the level of later co-optation—consistently with the very same will which generated it, the will to live constantly in the euphoria of the moment of creation. Why is it that the work of the greatest artists never seems to have an end? The answer is that great art cries out in every possible way for realization, for the right to enter lived experience. The present decomposition of art is a bow perfectly readied for such an arrow.

Nothing can save past culture from the cult of the past except those pictures, writings, musical or lithic architectures, etc., whose qualitative dimension gets through to us free of its form—of all art forms. This happens with Sade and La Fontaine, of course, but also with Villon, Lucretius, Rabelais, Pascal, Fourier, Bosch, Dante, Bach, Swift, Shakespeare, Uccello, etc. All are liable to shed their cultural chrysalis, and emerge from the museums to which history has relegated them to become so much dynamite for the bombs of the future realizers of art. Thus the value of an old work of art should be assessed on the basis of the amount of radical theory that can be drawn from it, on the basis of the nucleus of creative spontaneity which the new creators will be able to release from it for the purposes, and by means of an unprecedented kind of poetry.

Radical theory's forte is its ability to postpone an action begun by creative spontaneity without mitigating it or redirecting its thrust. Conversely, the artistic approach seeks in its finest moments to stamp the world with the impress of a tentacular subjective activity constantly seeking to create, and to create itself. Whereas radical theory

sticks close to poetic reality, to reality in process and to the world as it is being changed, art takes an identical tack but at much greater risk of being lost and corrupted. Only an art armed against itself, against its own weaker side—its most aesthetic side—has any hope of evading co-optation.

Consumer society, as we well know, reduces art to a range of consumable products. The more vulgarized this reduction, the faster the rate of decomposition and the greater the chances for transcendence. That communication so urgently sought by the artist is cut off and prohibited even in the simplest relationships of everyday life. So true is this that the search for new forms of communication, far from being the preserve of painters and poets, is now part of a collective effort. In this way the old specialization of art has finally come to an end. There are no more artists because everyone is an artist. The work of art of the future will be the construction of a passionate life.

The object created is less important than the process which gives rise to it, the act of creating. What makes an artist is his state of creativity, not art galleries. Unfortunately, artist rarely recognize themselves as creators: most of the time they play to the gallery, exhibitionistically. A contemplative attitude before a work of art was the first stone thrown at the creator. He encouraged this attitude in the first place, but today it is his undoing: now it amounts to no more than a need to consume, an expression of the crassest economic imperatives. This is why there is no longer any such thing as a work of art in the classical sense of the word. Nor can there be such a thing. So much the better. Poetry is to be found elsewhere: in the facts, in the events we bring about. The poetry of the facts, formerly always treated as marginal, now stands at the center of everyone's concerns, at the center of daily life, a sphere which as a matter of fact it has never left.

True poetry cares nothing for poems. In his quest for the Book, Mallarmé wanted nothing so much as to abolish the poem. What better way could there be of abolishing the poem than realizing it? And indeed a few of Mallarmé's contemporaries proved themselves rather brilliant exponents of just such a "new poetry." Did the author of *Hérodade* have an inkling, perhaps,

when he described them as "angels of purity," that the anarchists with their bombs offered the poet a key which, walled up in his words, he could never use?

Poetry is always somewhere. Its recent abandonment of the arts makes it easier to see that it resides primarily in individual acts, in a lifestyle and in the search for such a style. Everywhere repressed, this poetry springs up everywhere. Brutally put down, it is reborn in violence. It plays muse to rioters, informs revolt and animates all great revolutionary carnivals for a while, until the bureaucrats consign it to the prison of hagiography.

Lived poetry has effectively shown throughout history, even in partial revolts, even in crime—which Coeurderoy so aptly dubbed the "revolt of one"—that it is the protector par excellence of everything irreducible in mankind, i.e., creative spontaneity. The will to unite the individual and the social, not on the basis of an illusory community but on that of subjectivity—this is what makes the new poetry into a weapon which everyone must learn to handle *by himself*. Poetic experience is henceforth at a premium. The organization of spontaneity will be the work of spontaneity itself.

Fatuousness of Cynicism

From page 9

6.

Perhaps the most grotesque aspect of cynicism is its sheer irresponsibility. Just as its exaggerated negativism is insincere, its oversimplification of every issue guarantees that nothing practical is being considered.

Belief in one's own impotence (as if it were the world's fault for not being ripe enough for radical change) brings the reassurance of eternal irresponsibility. While the practicalities are left in the hands of electoral careerists and other professional cynics.

Cynicism thrives at the very core of social movements that make themselves into alternative subcultures, or even special interests. It does this by selecting a defined "other" as the oppressor and the source of all the problems. What the cynic will blame on the world or "human nature" the radical minority will blame on the specific object of their resentment ("All men are rapists", "All humans are animal abusers", etc.

7.

Cynicism is just another off-the-peg ideology. It's made to fit so well you won't even know you're wearing it. It is the consciousness of the unconscious.

This consciousness is produced and reproduced. the culture of cynicism is everyday noise—the non-stop barking of deafened dogs,

complaining that it's a dog's life, but too well trained to bite the hand that's feeding them their lines.

8.

What is it that gives cynicism its substance? What permits us to reduce what is going on into something omnipotent? Cynicism thrives on "reducing" everything into ready justifications. If such "reductions" are so popular, we have to ask what it is that things are "reduced" to?

There is, in society as it stands, only one reality that everything can be reduced to, and that is because everything is reduced to it, and produced by means of it. It is something whose mundane familiarity fools not only the cynic, but all of us, into thinking we must understand it.

That "thing"—which is not a thing—that which we all imagine we know all about—is money.

We treat it as the essence of the profane, and yet it is the cult for which we are ready to accept that millions of lives are routinely sacrificed. In the refusal to see anything *mysterious* about money, the cynic and the idealist are united.

We "know" that we work for the sake of money and we "know" that's just about all there is to be said about it. There is, it seems, nothing peculiar about people's relationships and behavior towards commodities and money? "Well, that's hardly surprising, is it?"

The antidote to cynicism is the transcendence of the Realism ("That's the way things are") which nourishes the cynical creature we have to tame. Our gaze is being directed away from the world as it could be and the flowering of our potentials. The possibility of transcendence *does* exist in reality itself. Courage, sacrifice, trust, generosity all bear witness to the way people's actual behavior soars high above the crippling notions that cynics pass for reality.

The world is in some respects even worse than the cynics say; in other respects it contains more possibilities for genuine happiness, as well as more actual happiness than even optimists bother to register. These are not separate aspects. The task of distinguishing good from the bad would be helped considerably if we stopped talking about the "world".

What we have to deal with is this society we inhabit, not some philosophical notion of the world as a whole. This society is no more a homogenous totality than "the world". And if there is an order, a pattern, a "system" at work in society, then it will be a historically specific one, not a timeless, all-powerful abstraction.

Cynicism deserves to be made the object of its own ruthless scrutiny; it must be forced to disclose what it is meant to suppress. In the light of criticism, cynicism stands revealed as the very disease of which it claims to be the diagnosis.

"It is impossible for a people to rise above their aspirations. If we think we cannot win, we most certainly cannot. Our greatest enemy is our defeatist attitude. Our oppressors greatest weapon of repression is their psychological apparatus by which they impregnate our people with a defeatist complex."

-Adapted by Rich Peyote from "Thesis Against Cynicism" by The Pleasure Tendency.

ON MAX STIRNER

Ours is a time when more and more precocious adolescence enters publicity¹ organized in gangs. A time when in 150 years the number of individuals on the planet has gone from one to five billion. A time when egalitarian bourgeois democracy has suppressed² heroes and conquerors. A time when one must

enter the clandestinity of anonymity to avoid being degraded by becoming an image. A time when an incapacity to make it *move* calls history into question. Never has the individual been confronted with a dilemma like the following: one's immediate glory—celebrity—is the contrary and the impossibility of true, historical glory. Never has the individual been so excluded from the individual's own history.

Inversely, after a sterile struggle between "individualism" and "collectivism" which was long undecided on the class front, the dominant ideology has proclaimed the triumph of the individual. With state managers as with managers of commodities, or in the ex-working class, individualism is everywhere the victor. The liberal egalitarianism born of the bourgeois counter-revolution has teamed up with the most radical subjectivism born of the negation of culture and the defeat of the 1921

revolution in order to promote the individual, a promotion now extended to nobodies, animals and to commodities themselves. Thus whereas modern communication everywhere hems in, narrows, annihilates, separates and flattens the individual out into a representation, everywhere it proclaims, shores up, manifests, constructs and communicates about this individual turned monstrous.

This wrenching apart of the triumphant-while-denied

concept is a source of doubt and confusion. Thus the *Bibliothèque des Emeutes* finds itself put in a category with ultra-individualist tendencies, notably neo-Stirnerist ones. No longer satisfied in effect with divisions of humanity as they appear to function according to theoretical underpinnings which have now been refuted, we reject the dominant divisions

based on the need to procreate (race, ethnicity, nation) and at the same time those based on the need to eat ("social" classes). And the indeterminacy which results seems, but only seems, during the course of our observation, like an acceptance of individualism. Since (to the provisional benefit of this indeterminacy) we think that the debate still belongs to everyone who takes part, and revolt to those who do in effect revolt, we defend respecting each of these folks with a certain jealousy; but since in this world such people are a rare find, for us their individuality counts even more and we accord it the widest liberty. All the more so since, in the first place, we are ourselves composed of a very limited number of associated individuals. As well, our association supports a certain number of principles which are identical to those of ultra-individualism. Egoism: if everyone knew how to count on him or herself

alone, if everyone knew that responsibility is entirely his or hers, it would at least get rid of the hypocrisy—which is an impediment—and a large number of forms of submission which are found in every hierarchy; a solidarity founded upon egoism—one that, therefore, is beyond morality and guilt; complete access to all decisions for each individual, and a form of delegation in which the person mandated is just the executor of the person mandating, who alone retains complete



*Pencil sketch of Max Stirner
Drawn after his death from memory by Engels*

arbitrary and discretionary control over the mandate: a mode of functioning and decision-making which we term democracy; according pre-eminence to personal pleasure (more theoretical than practical, unfortunately), although this pre-eminence does not outstrip *everything*³; and, therefore, what to us today would seem the widest individual liberty conceivable. All excesses, bizarreness, moods, irrationalities and inventions which spring from an individual would seem to be possible bases for the debate we intend to promote.

This general tolerance, however, is subject to the following particular intolerance: these nonconforming expressions must be coherent with respect to the already existing foundations of our theoretical framework—or demonstrate its incoherence; that these expressions, in other words, tend to concretely bring about this missing debate. Similarly, in no way do we accord the individual primacy over the history of humankind; evidence from humankind's current history already manifestly ridicules such a pretension. The individual does not count in history as an individual. Our epoch has amply completed disarming the individual vis-à-vis society and humankind through the spectacular magic of alienation, whose domination now takes on grandiose forms when revealing its essence. If it is the human individual who produces alienation at the source (of the brain and heart), alienation, precisely, is what escapes from the individual, like the backfire of a moped. Alienation has become the generic manifestation of the individual and the manifestation of humankind in the individual. This is the paroxysm of history which confronts us, here and now.

In 1844 Max Stirner published his major work, *The Ego and Its Own*. His viewpoint is simple: Me. His (more brilliant than rigorous) way of setting it out is very radical. Nothing takes precedence over Me. Stirner does a sort of inventory of every abstract concept which constrains the individual, reviling and critiquing their domination over Me and inverting the relationship by making them submit to Me. God, the State, society, love, humanness, liberty, truth, etc. are simply means of subordinating individuals to an idea, one, however, which is created by them, but which outstrips them, ceasing, thus, to be *their* property. What is the property of the individual? All that can be mastered, all that one's might can attain. Therefore, for example, to the extent that it constitutes an external commandment I believe in, truth is just an additional pledge of *my* submission, whereas *my* truth is *my* property, a pledge of *my* liberty, which stretches as far as I can, wish or desire to make it stretch. Or free thought: for Stirner this becomes thought which is free from the individual, which subordinates the individual, which is in opposition to thought mastered by the individual, whose liberty the individual assigns limits to—since an individual is not thought alone. The goal? Personal pleasure. Society is humanity's original state from which, little by little, individuals emerge, forming themselves and making themselves stand out. The first objection to cross his critics' minds—that I, the Unique One, is a new abstract concept that simply substitutes itself for the others—is rejected by Stirner: the Unique One is, precisely, unique, a non-determinable, contentless concept because generality is lacking. The result of this initial limit is that neither Stirner nor Mackay, who retrieved Stirner from oblivion a hundred years ago, nor the “L'Unique et Son Ombre” neo-Stirnerists talk about themselves, as if speaking were already a generalization, as if talking about oneself were already to accord a content, a

determination, as if the property of the individual excludes expressing it. Thus in the journal of the latter one finds a very tiresome paean to love via Plato, Breton and Freud, laboriously measuring the extent to which they conform with the theory of love they attribute to Stirner, leaving out what would be a lot more interesting—the personal love experience of the author and the *author's* theory based on *his or her own* unicity. All the more so since love is precisely one of the rare activities where no general theory to date seems consistent with particular experience, predisposing it to scrutiny from Stirner's viewpoint. But besides, love is precisely in no way the least of the ambiguities in Stirner's work. In “Some Provisional Remarks Concerning a State Founded Upon Love”, he makes the sharpest distinction between the egoist, to whom he accords his approval, and the lover: “Lovers are something else entirely. Egoism doesn't change people, whereas love transforms them. ‘Since he fell in love, he's become an entirely different person,’ as the saying goes. For, when they love, lovers really do something to themselves—they destroy everything in themselves that is at variance with the loved one. Willingly, with abandon, they let themselves be determined and, transformed by the force of love, they give in to the other person.” With respect to the neo-Stirnerists, this clearly signifies that Stirner is opposed to love, contrary, it would seem, to their understanding. In “The Ego and Its Own” on the contrary, Stirner implies that love can be a form of slavery. So what if it is out of egoism?

This is the first big limit to be found in Stirner, one that reduces his work to pure vanity. Because if someone can be a slave out of egoism, every individual lives according to Stirner's precepts. I believe in Society, Truth, God, Humanity, Freedom, etc., let's say. But out of pure egoism! In effect Stirner reproaches putting egoism on trial on the one hand while on the other he repeats that ultimately everyone is an egoist. This trial, then, is part of the egoism. Any hypocrite can say that the hypocrisy of this trial, to the extent that Stirner rejects any moral impediment, is only an expression of *my own* egoism. If egoism is basic to all of us, if slavery, even to love, is egoism, then this entire world down to its most mind-boggling sacrifices is egoist. This entire world, then, is according to Stirner's wishes. It's just a new version of Leibniz's best of all worlds, unless, more simply, it's a hoax, or, more seriously, sophistry.

In fact, in attempting to put himself at the center of, but above the world, Stirner commits two errors of manipulation. The first is in the fact that this post-Hegelian curiously thinks that thought is just a thought in a head and hence nothing. This misappreciation of alienation, which was very much in fashion with nineteenth century materialists, remains current today, and not just among managers. A thought in the head is not *nothing*. And the fact that a thought leaves a head to become other is evident, notably, in the principal target of Stirner's critique—abstraction placing this thought above us in order to subjugate us, a very common feature of alienation. Likewise, in postulating society as initial—what individuals separate themselves from in taking form—Stirner does not explain how and why this initial abstraction came into being, nor, as well, why Hegel's theory about progression toward the origin is therefore false. Nor does he explain which aberration makes non-egoist hypocrites *believe* in humanness, God, love, truth, and all things to be made real. Truth in particular es-

capex Stirner in the sense (which implies the difference between existence and reality) that making something become true is to make it real. Even if it exists, an idea is only true when it is made real. Communism or the individual, for example, are far from having been made real, and, therefore, being true. Placing Me not only at the center of the totality but making it the totality itself is to display a fundamental lack of knowledge about thought on Stirner's part. What is beyond Me exists (for now the same cannot be said about thought): it is alienation.

The second erroneous presupposition seems to be very much a part of the period that was starting then since one finds it in Marx's case and in materialism as a whole. Stirner, like the materialists with the atom, takes the individual as the smallest, indivisible part. And, quite logically, he constructs everything else from it; he simply finds it scandalous and ridiculous that parts have emancipated themselves to the point of substituting themselves for the indivisible essence—the individual. However, this positivist desire to build on a solid positiveness, a sort of basic unit, necessitates the process which justifies Stirner's entire opus—everything in the individual which is not the individual's must be purged. The idea of *humankind*, of God, of the State, etc., must also be rigorously denounced, separated, cast out from the individual before the individual reappropriates what is suitable to his or her personal pleasure. But I am not in agreement with Stirner's division: this *external* thought inside me is *me* as well. My goal is not to separate the me augmented with humankind but, on the contrary, to unite it in a relationship which determines my life and my relationship to other lives. In other words, I—a particular individual—am not separate from what is foreign to me. On the contrary, what is foreign attracts me—as though only through it can my self-realization find its truth. And far from accepting Stirner's Unique One as indivisible, I affirm that it is itself also divisible. The only thing which is no longer divisible is something which has come to an end. Therefore if Stirner's Unique One were indivisible, it would have to have

come to an end.

Thus Stirner is obliged to deny that humanity has a goal, that I as an individual pursue a generic goal, one which, in the way it reveals itself to my consciousness, is beyond my will and which, as a result, guides my will. Thus Stirner can only deny history, or reduce it to its perpetually completed representation: a strange past which is the movement of the general toward the particular, of society toward the individual. His goal—personal pleasure—is the same as de Sade's. But the difference between the two is that, in Stirner's case, personal enjoyment is subject to Me, whereas with de Sade, Me is subject to personal pleasure. Also, we are very thankful to de Sade for talking about personal pleasure; we regret that Stirner did not talk about *his* personal pleasure and about de Sade, who, presumably, he was aware of. But once again, to talk about it is to negate it. Which is why, with respect to goals, I go further: it is necessary to end with the end.

-Translated by Michael William

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NOTES

1. "Publicity" means, according to the concept created by Jean-Pierre Voyer, the independent, separated totality of communication in the world (see Voyer's *Introduction à la science de la publicité*, Ed. Champ Libre. In English only Voyer's *Reich: How to Use* is available. Write to: Bureau of Public Secrets, P.O. Box 1044, Berkeley, CA 94701, U.S.A.

2. The word "suppress" is used here in a dialectical sense which goes much beyond its common, merely "negative" meaning; the German verb "*aufheben*" can mean either "rais", "lift", "keep", "put aside" or "suppress"; the movement of suppression (*aufheben*) as described by Hegel, does not *annihilate* something, but only destroys its immediacy, while ("negatively") revealing the Concept; this process, as well, is identical in essence to the one of realization".

3. "Everything" does not mean *every thing*, each particular thing to be considered, but the *totality* itself.

Matthew Karwowski 1965-1994

From page 5

stuff, glistening crystallinely in the streetlamp beams that shot through the holes knocked in the window-bricking, hanging down from some of the larger pieces of piping in the ceiling. Looking down, the same stuff, ground more finely, dusted the assorted detritus of drug-use—old dull sets, empty bags and vials—that lay on what was left of the floor.

Asbestos, and a lot of it. When I used to remove the stuff as a teenager in Topeka, the EPA dudes stressed that the fire-retardant mineral was most dangerous in this flaky, frost-like form. "Friable" asbestos. Not like asbestos tile or putty-type asbestos pipe insulation, this was very old-style wraparound pipe insulation, the type that—according to EPA regs anyway—took millions and forever to clean up. I started giggling. In those happy little aforementioned beams of light, millions of tiny specks of dust floated. Specks that, if you got enough of them in your lungs, would over decades drill tiny holes through your lung tissue, bringing about a slow death by asphyxiation—*asbestosis*—similar to *emphysema*. Or, if you were *really* lucky, you could come down with *mesothelioma*, an incurable cancer that rots your chest cavity from the inside out, gradually metastasizing your vital organs into sludge. Once diagnosed, four to eight months was your expectancy window with that stuff.

"Fuck, Matt" I said, "This is all asbestos. You see this shit here? This is all asbestos." Matt said yeah, he knew. We headed up to the roof.

Looking out towards Queens, I cracked the forty I'd brought up, and we

bullshitted about cleaning up the asbestos, patching the holes and planting roof gardens, securing the building, etc., for an hour or so. Matt was tremendously enthusiastic about every idea, pretty much no matter how optimistic, and as my Colt took effect his energy became more contagious. I decided to go ahead and spend the night there in the building.

I woke up freezing at dawn. It was too cold to stay inside and keep trying to sleep, so I went out and started walking. It was 6 am in January, and I headed towards the park, thinking how nice it would be if I had a dollar so I could have an excuse to sit in Veselka and drink coffee. The streets were pretty much totally empty as the sun was coming up, and I was in a pretty good mood for the first time in a while. Reflecting on the building though, I gave it a no go. The booming howl of that stupid steam-whistle at the ConEd plant at 14th and the river, and requests from the "neighbors"—rock cookers—for baking soda—fuck that. I'd just have to find some girl to sponge off of.

Matt didn't have to be there, he didn't have to try to stay in that building. He was in good with Carl, the dispatcher at *Shadow* publisher Chris Flash's "Flash Parker" bike messenger service, and got good runs, and a fair amount of them. He kept an apartment on Bedford in Williamsburg that he used to share with Alex Trotter, but then lived in alone. He squatted because he *wanted* to, and he wasn't doing it for show, he did it because he could... and his motivations seemed higher than the simple bourgeois adventurism you could so easily find amongst the squatters on the LES. That should say enough about him.

-Tad Kepley



Collage by Johann Humyn Being

Excerpts from

The Right to Be Greedy:

Theses on the Practical Necessity of Demanding Everything
by "For Ourselves"

III. THE DIALECTIC OF EGOISM

50.

The *concept* of communist society can be arrived at, by one pathway, through the analysis and development of the *self-contradiction* of egoism, of the self-contradictory structure of the egoistic project. Communist society itself, and the self-transcendence of the narrow egoism of privatized man, can only be the outcome of the immanent and historical *dialectic of egoism* itself.

51.

The egoist project, in order to become adequate *to itself*, must include more than one ego.

52.

Communist egoism, likewise communist society, is only the final conclusion of the immanent critique, the *self-critique*—of bourgeois egoism, of privatized life.

55.

The development of egoism—the historical phenomenology of subjectivity—is a dialectic also in this sense: the way out of narrow egoism passes through narrow egoism itself. *And all attempts to block this way tend only to inhibit the development and arrest it at this narrow stage.*

60.

All along the line, consciously or not, “me first” has always been the necessary pattern of everyone’s practice. Everyone at every moment of their lives consciously or not acts in his own self-interest *at some level*. Anything else would be inconceivable, impossible. Unable to pursue his desires directly, a masochist uses the mediation of pain. The masochists of morality, ideology and causes seek pleasure by means of the pain of subordinating themselves through these projections.

The moral idealist attempts to get what he wants through the mediation of his projected ideal, because he doesn’t know how to get what he wants directly. He doesn’t know the *practical* means within himself as the subject and center of that practice, so he posits his center outside of himself as a rigidified generalization which is to “decide for him”. In so doing he makes the mistake of thinking that consistency with his ideal is always consistency with his *self-interest*.

65.

Communist society is conceivable only on the foundation of the *resonance of egoisms*. Thus its basis is the cohesion of egoisms, whereas heretofore egoism has appeared as the force of separation and privatization *par excellence*.

66.

The essence of the resonance of egoisms is this: the other person is a part of *your wealth*.¹

67.

The resonance of egoisms is the unity, the synthesis, the singularity, of the “particular” and the “general” interest: communist society.

X. MORALITY

100.

The old moral question of whether one “thinks first of oneself or of others” falls apart when we come to *think only of ourselves* and *for this reason* negate the *otherness* of others.

101.

Intelligence ends where morality begins. Morality ends where intelligence begins. The theory of practice, the unitary critique of all ideology, must at the same time be the critique not only of *any* moralism, but of *any possible* moralism. Every moral is subjectivity dis-owned and subjectivity alienated. Every moral is a psychic totem, a mental fetish-object, before which the moral fetishist subordinates himself, bows down, and offers sacrifice—indeed offers *himself* in sacrifice. Every ideal is separated subjectivity; a part of the self separated off, ejected, frozen, and held *over* the rest of the self. It is a depletion of subjectivity, a loss of freedom, a choice made in advance. The formation of the moral ideal is at the same time a decline in subjective mobility and maneuverability; a ball-and-chain about the dancer’s ankle; a self-laming and self-maiming in the dance of life.

102.

Morality and that which ties you to it, self-guilt, guilt for even being, is an enormous encumbrance. You can throw it off! You can drop all that weighty moral baggage, before it drags you down! You don’t need it! It is a poor substitute for the fine tool of practical intelligence, expanded self-interest,

self-consciousness itself.

When, if I should encounter a contradiction between a useful abstraction I had made about my practice, and my concrete self-interest in a given situation, if I abandon my concrete desire in favor of the practice of that abstraction, that mere generalization, out of abstract respect for superficial "consistency", or, say, at the behest of another, who threatens me with the word "hypocrite", then I am projecting a "principle", a moral, and I am reproducing as an ideologue the other person who has rebuked me in comparison to that moral, by being susceptible to him expropriating the *representation of myself* which I have erected or condoned, and using it *against my real self*. As a mere generalization, a *practical abstraction*—as *theory*—I have already refuted it *for myself* in practice, proven its invalidity *for this instance*. But as a *moral reification*, on the contrary, it is my *duty to obey* it. Not I but "it" is my master: "it" gives the orders, I alienate my will into it; "it" is the *subject* of my practice, I "its" *object*.

103.

The projections of my subjectivity, nurtured by guilt, stick out of my head like so many handles offered to any manipulator, any ideologue, who wants to get a hold of me, and whose *trade skill* is the ability to perceive such handles.

Only when I dissolve my guilt, when I free myself to be *shamelessly selfish*, when I grasp *selfishness as my only "duty"*—taking care of myself as necessarily my first *social responsibility*—can I be free.

104.

The critique of the totemic relationship, clarified by Feuerbach² in relation to religion, thence applied to political economy by Marx,³ and lately developed one-sidedly by the Gestalt therapists (especially Perls⁴) locates the inversion that lies at the heart of all domination and *self-en enslavement*. Totemic fetishism or projection lies also at the heart of every moral ideology, which is revealed also in the observation that every ideology is a moralism, and a social plan for the allocation of guilt. While useable precisely for the same ends, ideology in general, moralism in particular, are in essence the more sophisticated and subtle *means of exploitation*, as opposed to *naked coercion*.

105.

It is my guilt about my desires which makes me susceptible to ideological exploitation by others, and which motivates me in producing excuses and justifications (rationalizations) in terms of the dominant ideology (the ideology which I let dominate me). The trick of ideology consists in this: to represent desires in a pseudo-universal—i.e. unselfish, altruistic—and therefore unrepachable form, always in terms of some abstract "general interest". In order to reconcile myself with my ideology I must make myself a liar. But it is a loser's game. The lawyers of the dominant class already have set up in advance their way, and here I am on their terrain. The use-value of practical generalizations is that of *theory*—intelligence of human practice; knowledge of means, tech-

niques, and consequences. The use-value of morality is that of *ideology*—to dominate others, to attempt to get what is wanted in a *narrowly selfish* way, by representing it as unselfish, universal, in a climate where transparent selfishness, and transparency about desires, is not tolerated, is *chastised*.

106.

In the abstract negation of morality, its mere antithesis—typical especially of the *situationist mentality*—moralism is transformed into anti-moralism, which is really only an anti-moralism moralism, and not truly the opposite of moralism at all. According to the logical structure of this ideology, one has a duty to do at all times what is immoral according to the dominant ideology—that is, the ideology by which the situationist still defines and dominates himself, though here in a negative form. Thus it is *abstractly* required to live by stealing, to practice sexual promiscuity, to live in squalor, to drop out of school, to never work, etc., etc. This is still qualitatively as far from the determinate negation of moralism as is moralism itself.

107.

As for ourselves, we have no morality. We have only our feelings, our needs, our desires; our thoughts, our consciousness, our practical knowledge of practical consequences, at each given stage of our development. In short, our subjectivities, our selves. Compassion doesn't need to be coerced out of us; it comes naturally. We feel others' suffering, as well as their joy, because we are open to feeling our own.

108.

"The abolition of religion as the *illusory* happiness of men is a demand for their *real* happiness. The call to abandon their illusions about their conditions is a *call to abandon a condition which requires illusions*. Their criticism of religion is, therefore, the *embryonic criticism of this vale of tears* of which religion is the *halo*."

"Criticism has plucked the imaginary flowers from the chain, not in order that man shall bear the chain without caprice or consolation, but so that he shall cast off the chain and pluck the living flower. The criticism of religion disillusion man so that he will think, act, and fashion his reality as a man who has lost his illusions and regained his reason; so that he will revolve about himself as his own true sun. Religion is only the illusory sun about which man revolves so long as he does not revolve about himself."⁵

As with religion, so with respect to the other projections, individual and collective (commodities, money, capital, the state, ideologies of every description, morality in particular, reified [hierarchical] institutions of all sorts—pseudo-subjects all. Try substituting them in!)

109.

"The criticism of religion ends with the doctrine that *man is the supreme being for man*. It ends, therefore, with the *categorical imperative to overthrow all those conditions* in which

man is a humiliated, enslaved, despised and rejected being.”⁶

110.

The criticism of morality ends with the doctrine that you are the supreme being *for you*. (That is, your being, your self-consciousness, your being-for-yourself, is the necessary medium through which all other values—which constitute or give content to its value—including my value for you, or myself as one of your values, come into being for you. If you should lose your being, then all other beings, and therewith all values, would be lost *to you*. Further, and more concretely, to the extent that we produce socially, and that we produce a society; that we exchange self-powers and their objectifications, the we depend upon one another for the reproduction of our-selves, then my loss, or the loss of me, is your loss, and a depletion of your self). It ends, therefore, with the categorical imperative to overthrow all those conditions under which you, the subject, are subordinated to some *thing*—some fetish, some totem, some projection, some reification, some cause, some ideal, some moral, some principle, some pseudo-subject—some being supposedly “higher than yourself.”

111.

What cause or ideal is there, what projection out of yourself, that can be higher, *for you*, that you, its source? What external to your self that *you* value can warrant for you your sacrifice? What value is there that you would not lose if you lost yourself? Something can be a value for you only if includes and conserves in it your self, the necessary foundation of all your values. When you are lost to you, all the emanations of yourself, and all the values in the world that you affirmed, are

lost for you also; cut off at their *root*.

Taking risks is another matter. You must gamble your self in order to gain *any* value; you must risk your-self in order to gain yourself back again more richly. What is called ‘cowardice’ is not the practice of the realization expressed above, but its opposite: to little value placed on one’s self, and on those values and other persons which are *part of it*, so that

one fails to defend one’s self *in the expanded sense*, or mistakes mere *survival* for life.

112.

It is not by any means only the narrowly “selfish”, “egoistic” desires and tendencies which are repressed continually (*moralistically*, while at the same time being reinforced *practically*) in the daily life of privatized society, but also—really, more so—the “non-egoistic”, the so-called “unselfish” tendencies: natural gregariousness, spontaneous human solidarity, natural compassion and empathy, simple sociability and love. There is an energy produced in each human being every day which aims at a social satisfaction and which if not satisfied socially turns against itself, becomes depression, withdrawal, etc.

Unlike tribal societies, wherein these “unselfish tendencies” form the main base of social survival, in our society, overdeveloped (late) capitalist society, these emotions only break surface occasionally, *exceptionally*. In the vast accumulations of constant and variable capital known today as “cities”, the continual steadfast repression of these tendencies is increasingly a necessity of survival. With increasing rarity does social good-feeling pass between strangers on the street. Any stranger is best regarded as an enemy. And these teeming ant-hills are a *world of strangers*. The growing phenomenon of mass, random murders can be understood as a becoming-apparent of what was always essential to capitalist society, now entering its historic extremity: “the war of all against all” is becoming armed. [Note: In some cases these random mass



Collage by James Koehnline

killers prove to be not only the most apparent extremity of the war of all against all, but also a conscious self-critique of it. In many cases the active nihilist deliberately and consciously epitomizes everything he hates.]

Once anaesthetized, beginning in the early life of the individual, these social desires and tendencies can usually be re-evoked only falsely, artificially, *coercively*. Hence the belief that these emotions need to be enforced through the manipulation of guilt. Anyone still manifesting such tendencies in their direct, spontaneous form into young adulthood is immediately *suspect*, or at best, considered “naive” and a “fool” for his fervent “idealism” and/or “childishness” (despite all the altruistic *pretenses* of official society): these emotional tendencies are being seen as a weakness (which, in the society of estrangement, they undoubtedly *are*, until or unless such an individual develops full consciousness of these tendencies and of their social context, appropriating these as parts of a revolutionary project).

113.

I listen to criticism because I am *greedy*. I listen to criticism because I am *selfish*. I would not deny myself another's insights. But egoistic criticism is a use-value or it is nothing; use-value not only to its recipient, but to its donor as well. I would not bother to criticize someone in whom I had no interest. Anything else would be service rendered to an ideal, a moral projection—only a moralist seeks to strike against what contradicts him, his moral, *equally* over the whole manifold of space-time; only an ideal is “eternal” in this way. Whereas I am mortal. My libido is concentrated around myself; its intensity falls off exponentially with *subjective* distance from its source.

This egoistic criticism is the *opposite* of the masochistic and ritualized (spectacular) “criticism and self-criticism” of Maoist morality. *Authoritarian criticism* aims at my *repression*, at reinforcing and reproducing *passivity* and servility, at maintaining the habit of submission. It aims at weakening, rather than strengthening, my subjectivity, at keeping me an authoritarian personality—a *slave*.

Egoistic criticism, on the contrary, aims at strengthening me, in the mutual interest of myself and my critic, for the benefit of our *common wealth* and our *common project*. It is *immanent* criticism, criticism of me *in my own interest*. By the same token, for such criticism to be possible, for someone's criticism to “interest” me, I must see myself in them, and them in myself; we must share a common interest, a concrete community.

114.

The critique of revolutionary ideology, anarchist and Leninist alike, with its *sacrificial collectivist* morality and, in particular, the critique of Maoism with its *morality of poverty*, reveals once and for all the *poverty of all morality*.

And this in a double sense. *First*, in that morality is the ideological product of poverty; of the underdeveloped state of human productive forces, and especially of the cleavage of the “general” and “particular” interests, whose root is the self-

cleavage of society; social classes. Morality is the expression of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms. It locates the general interest as a *projection* out of a social situation *in which* it could only be found as a *contradiction*. In morality, the contradiction is represented as an abstract identity of the interests of all men, as the interest of an *abstract man* who has no real social existence. *Second*, in the sense that morality—which is projection, or self-disowning—is a depletion of the real social wealth, of subjectivity, the wealth of the self.

115.

Our subjectivity and our self-rediscovery in every here and now, i.e. our self-reproduction, is the only possible guarantee of our subjectivity. We must re-win ourselves constantly. “Communist egoism” can be made into an ideology. “The right to be greedy” can be turned into a morality. Easily. *No* objectification is immune. This ideology begins whenever some bureaucrat—for this act would confirm him so being—tries to order me, in the name of my “self-interest”, to desist from some activity I have freely undertaken, on the grounds that it is “*objectively*” sacrificial, and *I let him get away with it*. (Here is revealed the *lie* of representation: he represents me even against myself—he owns “me”, is more “me” than I am.) If I keep this up, the final scenario can be easily envisioned: some bureaucrat points a gun at me saying: “In the name of your expanded self-interest, that of the proletariat as a whole, we have determined that it is best for you for us to kill you” and pulls the trigger. (cf. Kronstadt, the ideology of the National Congress of Labor Committees, etc.)

116.

In a revolutionary situation it takes much more than the mere *wish* to prevent a bureaucracy from arising. The roots of bureaucracy lie in personal self-denial, [Note: If you don't know by now that narrow egoism is self-denial, you might as well stop right here.] in treating myself and my desires in a bureaucratic manner, in short, being a bureaucrat with myself. The mere abstract negation of its institutionalized form is like arriving with a bucket of water after the house has already burned down. In every rationalization and hesitation, in every stuttering and swallowing down of desire, of felt resentments, miscommunications and secret humiliations lie the seeds of our demise, our Thermidor. The logical outgrowth of any self-denial by any revolutionary is the triumph of the counter-revolution and the reign of the Bolsheviks all over again.

“... it is always the principle of useful suffering and willing sacrifice that forms the most solid base for hierarchical power.”⁷

The moment you sit by passively while not getting what you want, you are preparing the ground for your own destruction.

117.

We are on the verge of liberation only when it can be said of each of us that he/she has become so rebellious, so irrepressible, and so unruly that she/he cannot be *mastered* by anything less than his/her *self* (i.e. among other things, when no mere projection or reification of a *part* of ourselves will

Inside Anarchy

From page 4

special appeal to sustainers. We intend on making a technological upgrade (sic) over the next year or so, and could use whatever help—or equipment—anyone out there may be able to offer. We want to make the transition from IBM to Mac desktop publishing tech, and, since numerous items used to produce the magazine in Columbia were owned by C.A.L. members rather than the magazine itself, B.A.L. is having to purchase these also. Throw a keg party, charge three bucks for all you can drink, and send us a dollar for every two you get. Have a bake sale. A raffle. A taffy pull. Steal from your boss. Redistribute some wealth. There are plenty of wholesome activities that you can engage in to obtain funds, and when you engage in them, keep us in mind. Every little bit helps.

This issue, in the "Alternative Press Review" section, you may notice the absence of a publication review section. I decided to strike it this issue. We intend to return to reviewing publications sent (which will include everything we've received during the last six months of 1994) with the Spring '95

issue. I've been toying with the idea of changing the format of the review section altogether, perhaps just *listing* zines received. Zine reviewing is my least favorite task—and one I find depressing considering the state of what passes for the "anarchist" press in North America. We'd like to hear what readers think about this subject. Is the "Anarchist Press Review" section of *Anarchy* of great interest to you? Should we do it differently, or should we leave well enough alone? We do plan to return to reviewing non-anarchist zines we're sent; but zinesters should bear in mind that we will *always* trade with and review anti-authoritarian publications; but we can't and won't always trade with every 8 page xeroxed collection of reprints from other zines if its stated purpose is not *expressly* anti-authoritarian.

Also—a repeated appeal to all third class subscribers. *Please* remember to send us a change of address card when you move. Otherwise, the Postal Service will throw your copy of the current *Anarchy* in the trash and charge us to tell us they did it. You've got to let us know. Our prisoner subscribers should take particular note here.

Anarchy now has voice and e-mail capability. You are able to reach us via net at

<anarchy@panix.com> We prefer not to receive submissions by e-mail without prior contact. Same goes for letters to the letters section. Letters for the letters column will *only* be accepted from hard copy or disk, unless you make prior arrangements (by hard copy) with us first. Call us all you want. The number you can do that at is 212-332-9660. Make sure you leave an address along with your message. Hope to hear from you soon.

I should also thank those in Columbia and elsewhere without whose assistance this move would've been impossible. Mike Freeman, Ms. Kelly Dreier—soon to be another damn lawyer, A.H. from Toronto, Gerald Mueller—Mortal-Kombat-playing Columbia public defender, Benjamin Wood, baddest-of-the-bad attorney in Lawrence, all the contributing editors and artists, the theme material editors for this issue—Michael William and Doug Imrie, and last but not most assuredly not least, Jason McQuinn for his patient and invaluable technical assistance.

We'd also like to express our collective thanks to Jason and all past members of C.A.L.—without whose tireless work, there wouldn't be any magazine to move. I sincerely hope the new collective can rise to their example. -Tad Kepley

suffice, any longer, or will be able successfully to rule over us.)

118.

The "game" [Note: The word "game" is employed here, not in the sense of the theory of situations and of the construction of situations developed by the Situationist International, but in the sense of the "Transactional Analysis" ideology of psychotherapy.] is a form of armor, ideology is a "game", character-armor is compulsive role-playing, the "script" is the self-image projected through time, the temporalized self-spectacle. In the white heat of the act of their comprehension as lived experience and as interpersonal praxis going on all around us, these names, and the concepts they name—game, armor, ideology, role, character, script—melt into one.

The self-spectacle, the spectacular self—*self-representation*—will be found necessary, a necessary use-value, a necessary interpersonal tool, in fact, a "survival kit", and thus be reproduced, so long as (1) the *dissonance of egoisms*, the totality of conditions known in general as "poverty", "scarcity", prevails, and consequently, (2) people cannot get what they want often enough by being transparent with one another, by simply *asking for it*, and, (3) they cannot or will not take the risk of asking, the gamble of transparency, either for fear of the pain of refusal or out of the desperation of their need, and would therefore prefer to extract what they can by circuitous means, by subterfuge and deception, decoy and trickery—in short, by intransparent means.

The spectacular presentation of self in everyday life, the personal organization of false appearances ("persona")—partly compulsive and involuntary, and especially in muscle armor—

the little lie—these are the means of the *devious* route to the realization of desire. In their conscious part, they will be resorted to so long as the direct means, transparency, does not work any better. In their more unconscious, compulsive part, they are the mark of repression and domination, the cowering wince of the whipped cur, frozen into a posture.

Character-armor is indeed the form of people's complicity in the spectacle. Not that feeling guilty about one's character armor will do anything but exacerbate this problem.

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NOTES

1. Karl Marx, "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts", in T.B. Bottomore, op.cit., pp. 164, 165, etc.
2. Ludwig Feuerbach, *The Essence of Christianity*, translated by George Eliot, Harper & Row, (New York, 1957), passim. (see for example p. 73.)
3. Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, International Publishers, (New York, 1967), Chapter 1, Section 4, "The Fetishism of Commodities and the Secret Thereof", pp. 71-83.
4. F.S. Perls, *Ego, Hunger, and Aggression: The Beginning of Gestalt Therapy*, Random House, (New York, 1969), passim., and especially Chapter VII, "First Person Singular", pp. 216-219.
5. Karl Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right", Introduction, in T.B. Bottomore, op.cit. p. 44.
6. Karl Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right", Introduction (our translation). cf. ibid. p. 52 and John Lewis, *The Life and Teaching of Karl Marx*, p. 7 (frontispiece), International Publishers (New York, 1965).
7. Raoul Vaneigem, op.cit., p. 41, in Chapter 4, "Suffering".

THE 'ILLEGALISTS'

by Doug Imrie

"It is idiotic that those who have figured things out are forced to wait for the mass of cretins who are blocking the way to evolve. The herd will always be the herd. So let's leave it to stagnate and work on our own emancipation (...) Put your old restraints aside. We have had enough of always sacrificing ourselves for something. The Fatherland, Society and Morality have fallen (...) That's fine, but don't contribute to reviving new entities for us: the Idea, the Revolution, Propaganda, Solidarity; we don't give a damn. What we want is to live, to have the comforts and well-being we have a right to. What we want to accomplish is the development of our individuality in the full sense of the word, in its entirety (...) The individual has a right to all possible well-being, and must try to attain it all the time, by any means..." (Hégot, an illegalist, writing to the anarchist journal *Les Temps Nouveaux* in 1903, on behalf of a "small circle" who shared his opinions.)

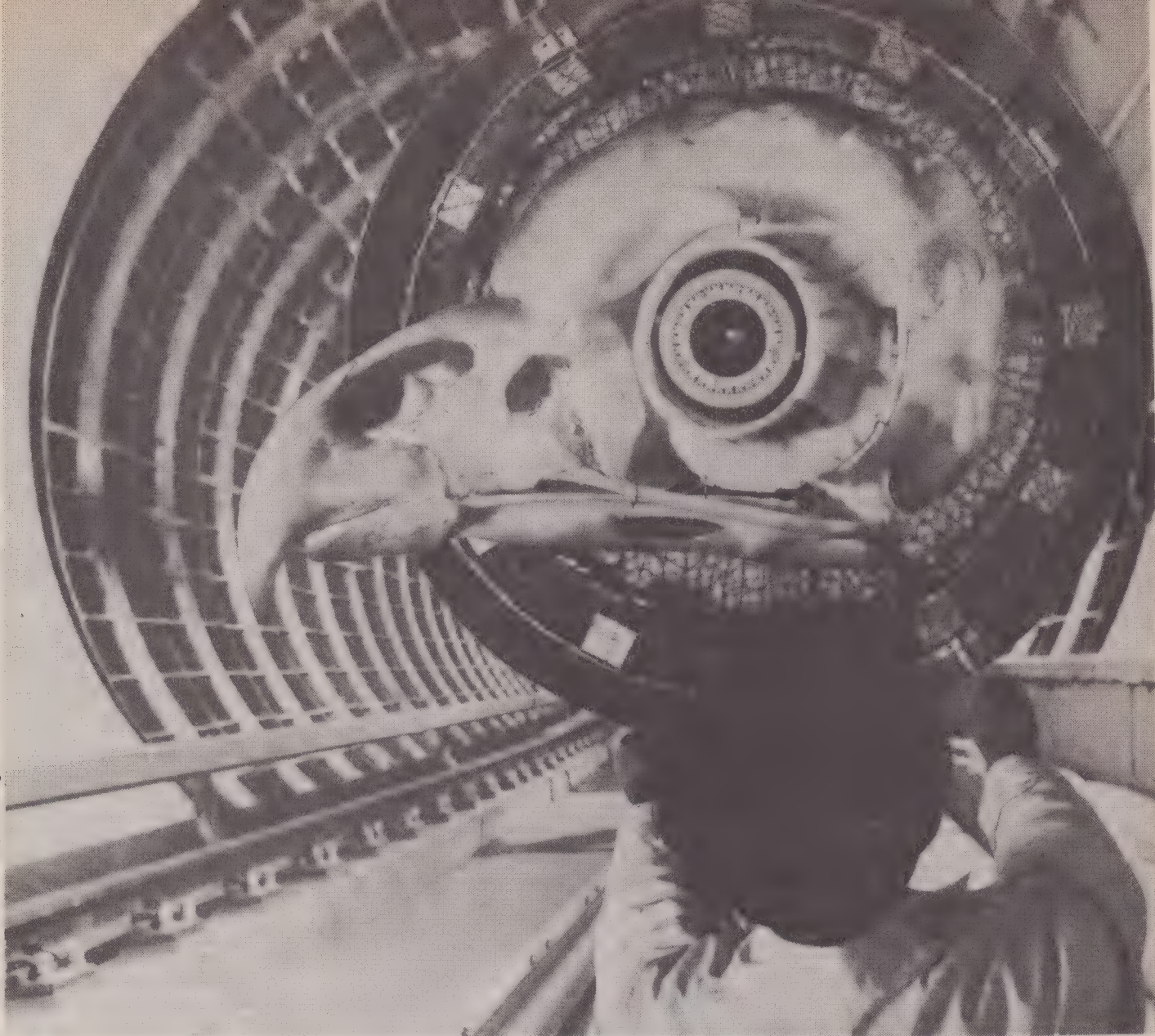
Parallel to the social, collectivist anarchist current there was an individualist one whose partisans emphasized their individual freedom and advised other individuals to do the same. Individualist anarchist activity spanned the full spectrum of alternatives to authoritarian society, subverting it by undermining its way of life facet by facet. The vast majority of individualist anarchists were caught in the trap of wage labor like their collectivist comrades and the proletariat in general: they had to work for peanuts or starve. Some individualists rebelled by withdrawing from the economy and forming voluntary associations to achieve self-sufficiency. Others took the route of *illegalism*, attacking the economy through the direct individual reappropriation of wealth. Thus theft, counterfeiting, swindling and robbery became a way of life for hundreds of individualists, as it was already for countless thousands of proletarians. The wave of anarchist bombings and assassinations of the 1890s (Auguste Vaillant, Ravachol, Emile Henry, Sante Caserio) and the practice of illegalism from the mid-1880s to the start of the First World War (Clément Duval, Pini, Marius Jacob, the Bonnot gang) were twin aspects of the same proletarian offensive, but were expressed in an individualist practice, one that *complemented* the great collective struggles against capital. The illegalist comrades were tired of waiting for the revolution. The acts of the anarchist bombers and assassins ("propaganda by the deed") and the anarchist burglars ("individual reappropriation") expressed their desperation and their personal, violent rejection of an intolerable *society*. Moreover, they were clearly meant to be *exemplary* actions, invitations to revolt.

All of society's snares lay in wait for the illegalists, and to survive they were forced to make compromises, such as dealing with organized crime. They were constantly at risk of being set up by informers and agents provocateurs. When their nearly inevitable arrests occurred, some made deals with the cops and turned in their friends; others did long prison terms. In France the laws were draconian then. Prisons were much worse and the penal colonies were basically death camps¹. The

guillotines were constantly supplied with fresh meat. Hundreds of illegalists were imprisoned. Many abandoned their anarchist politics, degenerating to the point where they behaved in a completely mercenary way. What started out as a revolt against bourgeois society usually turned into a purely economic affair, reproducing the cycle of "crime" and repression.

Marius Jacob was one of the foremost exponents and practitioners of anarchist illegalism in pre-war France. He was born to working class parents in Marseille on Sept. 27, 1879. After finishing school, he went to sea to train as a sailor. His sailing included a long voyage along the west coast of Africa. At 16 he had to abandon his life as a sailor for health reasons, and returned to France. By then he had already been introduced to the anarchist milieu by a friend, and became an anarchist. Soon after, in 1896, at the end of the period of "propaganda by the deed" in France, he was set up by an agent provocateur who procured explosives for him, then snatched him off. He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment at age 17. After his release, the police systematically visited each of his employers and got him fired. Together with two anarchist friends he hatched a scheme to pass himself off as a senior police officer, and carried out a fake raid on a pawnshop in Marseilles in May, 1899. He then travelled to Spain and Italy. Upon his return to France he was arrested in Toulon, then imprisoned in Aix-la-Provence. He escaped and turned to illegalism on a full-time basis.

Around 1900, Jacob formed a band of anarchist illegalists who specialized in burglaries and fencing stolen goods. The band was based in Paris but operated throughout France, as well as in Italy and Belgium. The band was well-organized and very professional. The members' activities fell into three main categories: the scouts, who went from town to town looking for homes whose owners were absent and collected the information necessary to make the break-ins function flawlessly; the burglars, with a set of first-rate tools at their disposal, valued at 10,000 francs (easily \$2500); and a fencing operation to sell the loot. Jacob persuaded some of the members to contribute ten percent of their take to anarchist propaganda efforts; some refused on individualist grounds, preferring to keep their share. The band stole only from "social parasites" like priests, the wealthy and military officers. They spared the poor and those whose occupations they considered useful, like doctors, architects and writers. By common agreement, murder was excluded as an option except in cases of legitimate self-defense. The band was armed. To minimize the risk of violence, they perfected a system of door seals which they attached to all exits of the building they were "working" in. Jacob later admitted that he participated in 106 burglaries, whose take was estimated at 5 million francs (an estimate, by the way, that Jacob considered inflated). One of the most memorable break-ins was at the Cathedral of Tours, where the band stole 17th century tapestries valued at 200,000 francs. They left behind a graffito: "All-powerful god, find your thieves!"



In late 1903, three members of the band were caught in Abbeville by a cop, Pruvost, who was shot dead. The burglars escaped, but two were caught in a trap set for them in Paris, and this arrest led to the arrests of most of the members. After 18 months investigation by a magistrate, the trial of 23 out of the 29 accused members began in March 1905. Most were found guilty: Jacob and Bour (who apparently killed Pruvost) were sentenced to hard labor for life in the penal colonies. Fourteen other members received sentences totalling 100 years. Another ten, among them Jacob's mother, were acquitted. Jacob was deported to the penal colony in the Iles du Salut in January 1906 and served twenty years, including 8 years 11 months in chains. Due to a campaign for his release organized primarily by his mother, he was released in 1925. He took up work as a travelling salesman, selling hosiery and clothing until his death by a deliberate morphine overdose on Aug. 28, 1954. The accounts of his friends show that Marius Jacob did not commit suicide out of despair, but out of a calm desire to avoid the infirmities of old age.

Looking back on his experiences in 1948 Jacob observed: "I don't think that illegalism can free the individual in present-

day society. If he manages to free himself of a few constraints using this means, the unequal nature of the struggle will create others that are even worse and, in the end, will lead to the loss of his freedom, the little freedom he had, and sometimes his life. Basically, illegalism, considered as an act of revolt, is more a matter of temperament than of doctrine. This is why it cannot have an educational effect on the working masses as a whole. By this, I mean a *worthwhile* educational effect."

For good accounts of Jacob's life, see A. Sergeant's *Un anarchiste de la belle époque, Marius Jacob* (Ed. Le Seuil, 1950), Bernard Thomas' *Jacob* (Ed. Tchou) and Jacob's text of Sept. 1948, *Souvenirs d'un demi-siècle*. Richard Parry's *The Bonnot Gang* (Rebel Pr.) is an excellent account of the illegalist individualists whose actions followed Jacob's arrest by a mere five years. Highly recommended. Finally, *The Art of Anarchy* (Cienfuegos Pr.) contains *magnificent* illustrations by anarchist Flavio Costantini that portray the actions of Jacob's band and of other illegalists.

1. For a good account of what the penal colonies were like, see *Dry Guillotine: Fifteen Years Among the Living Dead*, René Belbenoit (E.P. Dutton, 1938).

'WHY I BECAME A BURGLAR'

MARIUS JACOB'S LAST WORDS TO THE COURT

Sirs,

Now you know who I am: a rebel who lives from the proceeds of his burglaries. Moreover I have set fire to several villas and have defended my freedom against aggression by agents of the State. I have laid bare my entire life of struggle and submit it as a problem to your intelligences. Since I acknowledge no one's right to judge me, I am begging for neither a pardon nor leniency. I will not appeal to those I hate and despise. You are stronger; do with me what you will. Send me to the penal colony or the scaffold, it matters little. But before we part company, I would like to say a final word....

You call a man a thief and a bandit as you apply the full severity of the law, never asking yourselves if he could have been something else. Has there ever been a man of independent means who turned to burglary? I admit I do not know any. But I, who am neither independently wealthy nor a property owner, who am only a man with just his arms and his brain to keep himself alive, I have had to act differently. Society allowed me only three means of existence: work, begging, or stealing. Far from disgusting me, work pleases me. Man cannot even go without work: his muscles and brain contain a certain amount of energy that must be expended. What disgusted me was to sweat blood for a wage that was handed out like charity, to create wealth that would only frustrate me. In a word, I was disgusted with turning to the prostitution of work. Begging is degradation, the negation of all dignity. Every man has a right to enjoy the banquet of life.

THE RIGHT TO LIVE IS NOT BEGGED. IT IS TAKEN.

Theft is restitution, a regaining of possession. Rather than be shut up in a factory as though in a prison, rather than begging for what I have a right to, I preferred to rebel and fight my enemies face to face by making war on the rich and attacking their property. Of course, I understand that you would have preferred that I submit to your laws, that, as a docile, spineless worker, I create wealth in exchange for a ridiculous wage and that, my body worn out and my brain dulled, I go and die on a street corner. Then you would not have called me a "cynical bandit", but an "honest worker". Using flattery, you would even have awarded me a labor medal. The priests promise paradise to their dupes; you are less abstract, you promise them a scrap of paper.

Thank you so much for such kindness, such gratitude, sirs! I prefer to be a cynic conscious of his rights than an automaton, a caryatid!

As soon as I had possession of my faculties, I turned to theft without hesitation. I do not share your so-called morality, which advocates a respect for property as a virtue when there are no worse thieves than property owners.

Consider yourselves lucky, sirs, that this prejudice has taken root in the people, for it is your best policeman. Knowing the powerlessness of the law, or rather, of force, you have made it your surest protector. But take care, all things come to an end. All that is built or set up by cunning and force can be destroyed by cunning and force.

The people are changing every day. You see, having learned these truths and conscious of their rights, all the starving, the beggars, in a word, all your victims, will arm themselves with a "jimmy" and storm your

houses to take back the wealth they created and that you have stolen from them. Do you think they will be more unfortunate as a result? I think it will be the opposite. If they think about it carefully they will prefer to run any risk sooner than fatten you while moaning in poverty. Prison...the penal colony...the scaffold, people will say. But what are these prospects compared to a wretched life full of every kind of suffering. The miner who struggles for his bread in the bowels of the earth without ever seeing the sunlight can die at any moment, the victim of an explosion of firedamp. The bricklayer who jumps from roof to roof can fall and be dashed to pieces; the sailor knows the date of his departure but does not know if he

will return to port. Many other workers contract fatal illnesses while exercising their trade; they exhaust themselves, poison themselves, kill themselves to create for you. Right down to the gendarmes, the policemen, your servants, who, for a bone you toss them to chew, sometimes die in their struggle against your enemies.

Stubborn in your narrow-minded selfishness, you remain skeptical of this vision, don't you? The people are afraid, you seem to say. We rule them by their fear of repression; if they yell, we will throw them in prison; if they make a move, we will deport them to the penal colony; if they act, we will guillotine them! A bad mistake, sirs, believe me. The sentences you inflict are not a remedy for acts of revolt. Far from being a remedy or even a palliative, repression only aggravates the malady.

Coercive measures can only sow the seeds of hatred and vengeance. It is a deadly cycle. Besides, since you started chopping off heads and filling the prisons and penal colonies, have you prevented hatred from manifesting itself? What's that? Answer! The facts prove your powerlessness. For my part, I knew perfectly well that my conduct could have no other outcome than the penal colony or the scaffold. Surely you see that it did not prevent me from

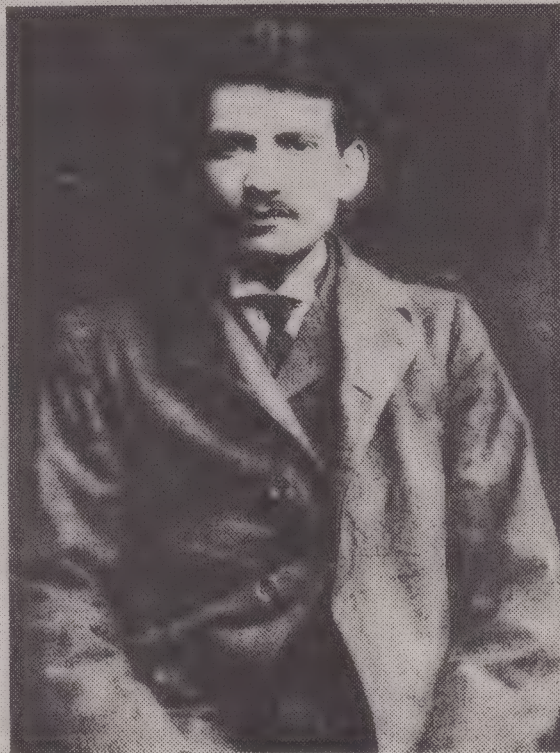
acting. If I turned to theft it was not for gain, for profit; it was a question of principle, of right. I preferred to keep my freedom, my independence, my dignity as a man, than make myself the author of a master's fortune. To put it more bluntly, without euphemism, I preferred to be a thief than to be stolen from.

Of course, I too condemn the act of violently and cunningly seizing the product of other people's labor. *But that is precisely why I made war on the rich, thieves who steal the property of the poor.* I too would like to live in a society from which all theft had been banished. I do not approve of theft, and have only used it as a means of revolt well-suited to fighting the most iniquitous of all thefts: private property.

To destroy an effect one must first destroy the cause. If theft exists it is only because there is abundance on one side and scarcity on the other; because *everything* belongs *only* to a few. THE STRUGGLE WILL ONLY DISAPPEAR WHEN MEN SHARE THEIR JOY AND THEIR SUFFERING, THEIR WORK AND THEIR WEALTH, WHEN EVERYTHING WILL BELONG TO ALL.

A revolutionary anarchist, I have made my revolution: let Anarchy come!

-Translated by Doug Imrie



Marius Jacob

NOTE ON SURREALISM

WHATEVER HAPPENED TO L'UNIQUE ET SON OMBRE?

I first became aware of *L'Unique et son ombre* in the mid-80s. The editors of the journal, a man and woman who share an apartment, had travelled from an anti-statist Marxist (ultra-left) viewpoint to a neo-Stirnerist one. The three issues they put out in the early and mid-80s exerted an influence on people in the local ultra-left/post-situationist milieu, as well as on a number of anarchists. During this period I was moving from a basically anarchist-communist position to an anti-civilization one. The anti-civ. milieu contains individualist and collectivist currents, and my previously hard-core collectivist position evolved into something else, taking on a variety of individualist aspects without, however, becoming the purer individualism adopted by some. In the two issues of the Montreal tabloid *Demolition Derby* which were published in the late 80s, I translated and published long pieces by Dominique Fauquet and Alain Ajax, the editors of *L'Unique et son ombre*. After the first issue of *Demolition Derby* appeared, I received a long text from Alain Ajax for publication in *Demolition Derby*. Since I was already translating another *L'Unique et son ombre* text which dealt with the theme of the upcoming issue, the new text didn't go into what turned out to be the final issue of the journal. Busy with a variety of translations and responses to letters, I only skimmed the piece, which appeared to deal mainly with typical *L'Unique et son ombre* themes.

No more issues of *L'Unique et son ombre* appeared, and I received no new texts from Ajax and Fauquet. Then, after *Demolition Derby*'s demise, I learned that the duo was publishing regularly in a far-right anti-free market journal entitled *Nationalisme et République*. One co-written article which was published a couple of years ago, for example, put forth their musings concerning the French National Front. The "present situation is so new and aberrant," they state, that the National

"But it is true that one could not go very far. It is not just a matter of distance. Threats accumulate; one yields and abandons part of the terrain to be conquered. An imagination that accepted no bounds will be allowed to function only according to the laws of arbitrary utility. Unable to bear this inferior role for long, around his twentieth year it generally prefers to abandon a man to his sombre fate.

Though here and there he may later try to pull himself together, having felt that he is gradually losing all reason for living, incapable as he has become of rising to an exceptional situation such as love... he will hardly succeed. This is because from now on he belongs body and soul to an imperative practical necessity that he will not be allowed to lose sight of. All of his acts will lack scope, all of his ideas depth. From what happens to him and might happen to him, he will only be able to imagine what links that event to a multitude of events like it, events he did not take part in, abortive events. That is, he will judge them in relation to one of these events, one with an outcome that is more reassuring than the others. On no account will he see in them his salvation.

Dear imagination, what I like about you most of all is that you are unforgiving."

-André Breton, *Surrealist Manifesto*

At the level of *imaginative consciousness*¹, surrealism expressed the viewpoint of the Unique One. Though not alone at this level, surrealism did so with the most consequence. Surrealism brought the surreality of the individual's negated singularity into conflict with prevailing social reality.

It is not the aim of this brief text to analyze all the research methods the surrealists used to attempt to reveal individuals' profound, innermost selves. I will limit myself to the *surrealist objects*, which perfectly express the poetic

marvellous of the *other* reality. Not only do these objects have no exchange value, but also and above all they have no *use value* according to the criteria of social reproduction. They simply express the freedom and uniqueness of the individuals who create them, and of the individuals who relate to them.

However, surrealism limited the search for uniqueness to this level of imaginative consciousness, one which was inside the individual. By changing levels, by externalizing itself, the content of the revolution changed for the surrealists: it became *social*.

This is surrealism's deep-seated contradiction, one it often stumbled over: displaying the singular individual in the domain of the spirit (in the surrealist sense of the word), and searching for a social meaning for everything that went beyond this domain.

This type of gap caused a *tendency*, at this "internal" level, to limit the individual's transformation to a psychological process which accorded an important role to Freudianism.

Moreover, in striving for a social transformation at an "external" level, the surrealists had to make themselves complete by forming relationships of a conflictive nature with political movements, Marxist ones for the most part, but also anarchist ones after the war. In fact, most of the various conflicts before the war among members of the surrealist group were primarily concerned with the problematic of whether or not to participate in political activity.

If André Breton was best able to represent surrealist activity throughout its existence it was because, apart from his personal qualities of reflection and poetic sensitivity, he was best able to represent *both poles* of the contradiction.

Yet for Breton, the "individual" pole took precedence over the "social" pole. According to him, a social revolution was necessary to settle material ques-

Front "is practically the only platform for the most basic kind of discontent, the only relatively broad and organized milieu where modern zombies' self-censure is not immediately fully operative." For members of the National Front, "triumphant universalism is synonymous with personal amputation," in the terminology of Ajax and Fauquet.

What is this crap? Well, a more in-depth account of the duo's descent into inanity might be interesting for someone to undertake; the present account is primarily intended to convey the bad news, especially to those who had previously read and liked *L'Unique et son ombre*.

Fauquet sets out her worldview in an extremely long text which was written during the Gulf War. For Fauquet the end of the cold war signifies a "union of the formerly opposed blocs" and a "world-wide unification of the economy." Standardization, meanwhile, becomes a primary enemy and a leitmotif in her writings. Posed as a counterweight is the nation, leading to bizarre rambling such as the following: "... National Socialism placed itself in a position of irreducible antagonism towards developing global capital as opposed to simply competing with one of its poles. Refusing the political and economic strangulation decreed by the Treaty of Versailles signified a rejection of the erosion of the old nations, an erosion benefitting the representatives of the global market which was coming into being. And Germany's second defeat in effect was Europe's in this sense, and, this time, a definitive one." Elsewhere in the text, Fauquet locates certain "nations susceptible to an important upsurge against the fatality of the world economy, essentially those of Europe, as well as certain Near East and Far East ones." These nations, however, according to Fauquet, have "already lost the battle as such."

For Fauquet, the present period is similar to the period of the decline of the Roman Empire: "Granting citizenship to all free men of the entire empire, generalized freeing of the slaves, recruiting military emperors who were members of less and less Romanized peoples ('Africans', Spaniards, Syrians, and even Gauls or Armenians); and, ultimately, the official adoption of a long-subversive universalist religious sect: many features of this decadence are a troubling herald of the present obsessive dismantling of the cultures in place and of universal race-mixing!" Thus in Fauquet's convoluted terminology present-day anti-racists are racists opposing "those who oppose the process of obligatory mixing of all existing human varieties in order to create a universal type." Not surprisingly, this sort of interpretation leads her to inveigh against France accepting immigrants, who become "the universalist Trojan horse come to stay in the heart of [its] own capital."

The only hope lies with "individuals conscious of being individuals," Fauquet tells her right-wing audience, "however paradoxical and problematic that might appear." Some of Fauquet and Ajax's individualist outlook has carried over in their plunge into the nationalist milieu—and marketing their freakish national-individualism to skeptical nationalists is clearly an uphill task. This gambit takes the form of clumsy attempts to inject the individual like the following: "But the rebirth of nationalism is also

tions and to be able to move on to the question that truly mattered to him, namely, the transformation of the individual world.

After the episode of its relationship with the French Communist Party and the all-too-obvious gap between surrealism's radical demands at the individual level and the demand for a workers' State at the social level, the surrealists thought they had found a suitable complement to their project in the anarchist demand for a classless and therefore stateless society (cf. Breton's *La Clair Tour*², published in *Le Libertaire* in 1952).

But here again, as events showed, surrealism's relationship to a social revolutionary project that was nevertheless radical proved impossible. Like the communists, the anarchists spoke only the *language of realism*, because it is the *only social language*.

The incidents surrounding Camus' *The Rebel*, which were described by José Pierre (although he minimizes them) in *Surréalisme et Anarchie* (Plasma), show quite clearly what affronts—of the same type, though of a different shade—the surrealists had to put up with in order to maintain relations with the Anarchist Federation, as with the Communist Party. For all that, the articles the surrealists published in *Le Libertaire*, with few exceptions, were quite insignificant and already revealed a willingness to remain "at the level" of the people they were addressing. (As for José Pierre, the level of his comments in this work place him even lower. But what else could one expect from an academic work?).

This impossibility of establishing a relationship to social transformation via politics would lead the surrealists, and Breton in particular, to turn to ancient societies that had been able to integrate the "marvellous" to some extent.

But this is no longer the poetic marvellous, where the individual is master, but a marvellous of either a religious or an *esoteric* type. Of course it was the latter that the surrealists were to take a growing interest in, as shown by the many texts and interviews, notably by Breton, that focused on alchemy and astrology in the 50s, as well as by the publication of the review *Médium*.

Pierre Mabilles' influence on Breton shortly before and especially during the post-war period is doubtless not unconnected to the latter's great interest in

esotericism, as shown by his preface to the republication of Mabilles' *Le Miroir du Merveilleux*, where, among other things, he evokes a voodoo ceremony that the latter invited him to attend.

But this tendency was already present in surrealism well before the war, as shown by the *Second Manifeste*. It is doubtless based on the modern ambiguity of a marvellous which can become *poetic* with the individualization of the community's members relative to it, but which sees its possibilities of expression reduced in proportion to these same individuals' separation from nature.

With the aim of resolving this contradiction, no doubt, the surrealists occasionally slipped from a poetic marvellous to an esoteric marvellous, which is deeply rooted in primitive societies, where nature religion is often mistaken for the marvellous.

This tendency toward esotericism, then, grew appreciably stronger among the surrealists when, unable to participate directly in the project of the social transformation of the world, they were to search for the possibility of this transformation in societies where the marvellous and the social went more or less hand in glove.

What basically distinguishes the poetic marvellous from the esoteric marvellous is that in the latter, the other reality is no longer discovered by individuals but *revealed* to them by natural forces that outstrip and include them, and which, in less socialized societies, are themselves social. In other words, this other reality is no longer formed by their own singularity but by these natural forces themselves, which at one and the same time *obscure* the *reality* of existing social relations and what is *possible* in relationships between Unique Ones.

Yet in the very heart of this period, which was largely devoted to esoteric research, a text by Breton interrupted the prevailing mood. In an article about the new edition of Darien's *Le Voleur*, Breton appears to fleetingly contemplate a correspondence between surrealist demands and those of open partisans of Uniqueness: "Darien, a rebel if there ever was one (and whom Albert Camus will strive quite uselessly to evaluate) remains to this day the highest incarnation of the Unique One desired by Stirner: one who, from his first day to his last aspired to be 'a free man on a free earth'". (*Darien le Maudit*, repro-

duced in *Perspective Cavalière* and as a preface to paperback editions of *Le Voleur*).

To my knowledge this is the only time Breton mentioned Stirner, to whom everything should surely have drawn his attention, above all his profound intellectual solitude and the very uniqueness of his works, which were in no way inferior, at a different level, to Lautréamont's, for example. True, Lautréamont did not have Marx to plagiarize him first and then discredit him and reduce him to silence through social means. The undoubted advantage that the "accursed" poets have over the "accursed" philosophers is that their writings cannot be taken away from them by their enemies. Besides, Breton is not the only one to have suffered Marxist hegemony. A few of us practiced Marx a great deal before encountering Stirner.



In any case, by not recognizing, except in an implicit, belated and passing way that Stirner expressed the same "point of view" at the level of theoretical consciousness as the surrealists did at the level of imaginative consciousness, Breton undoubtedly missed an encounter which, had it occurred thirty years earlier, might have changed the aspect of many events, and in the first place the surrealist movement itself, which exhausted and impoverished itself in unnatural relationships and through some internal splits (especially where relations with Artaud were concerned).

Today, of course, it would be useless to wish to attempt an adventure that could not take place half a century ago. Not only have times changed, but above all *individuals have disappeared*, and it would be an insult to them to aspire to replace them.

However, there is also reason to think that the crisis of Marxism, and beyond it, of any prospect of social revolution, may eliminate many shams today.

In the absence of replaying an encounter that never happened between surrealism and the radical "theoretical" critique of society, any development of the latter must link up with the former's strong points, without hiding its weak points in the process.

If surrealism still retained a semblance of life among those who look to it for inspiration, the reverse would obviously be desirable. But its immortalization *as it used to be* by its various current partisans excludes them from any discussion concerning it.

A preferred subject for studies and theses and benefitting from "the work of Joint Research Team number 919 of the *Conseil National de Recherches Scientifiques*, which specializes in the 'Fields of Surrealist Activity'" (from José Pierre, *op.cit.*), its remains shut away in the tombs of magazines and catalogues printed on subsidized, glossy paper, piously preserved in the memories of the less fortunate—surrealism's posthumous expression is just a caricature of the caricature it was in its final days.

Thus, to breathe a little life back into it means to assume that it can be *critiqued* as well as *praised*. For our part, we will not hesitate to do both.

Alain Ajax

I forgot: Today, André Breton is the name of an "avenue" in the loathsome *Forum des Halles*, thanks to the combined kindnesses of Minister Lang and Mayor Chirac, and with the blessing, no doubt, of the post-surrealist think-tank, some members of which received a few handouts from the socialist state.

-Translated by Doug Imrie and Michael William

1. In the original French, "Sur le plan de la conscience sensible...."

2. A translation by Doug Imrie and Michael William of Breton's *La Clair Tour* is available; send ■ postal coupon (IRC) to: Diffusion Noire, B.P. 852, Succ. Desjardins, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, H5B 1B9.

anchored in a global *individual reaction* to the universal society." Even dragooned as an individualist is Jean-Marie Le Pen, the leader of the National Front, who, we are told, "possesses the particularity of palpably and frequently speaking in a *personal* way and in his own voice, forgetting the wooden language which is *de rigueur*." Fauquet also quotes Stirner in order to enlist his endorsement of a nationalist union of egos concept. But the thrust of Stirner's arguments on the page of his book in question is clearly anti-nationalist: "And yet only individuals can enter into a union with each other, and all alliances and leagues of peoples are and remain mechanical compoundings, because those who come together, at least so far as the 'peoples' are regarded as the ones to have come together, are *destitute of will*." Far from seeing something like the National Front as a union of egos(!), Stirner mocked nationalism: "How ridiculously sentimental when one German grasps another's hand and presses it with sacred awe because 'he too is a German'."

Ajax and Fauquet's move to the nationalist right was shocking to the small number of anti-authoritarians in Montreal who appreciated their writings. In the one-off Montreal editorial group selecting the theme material for the *Anarchy* individualism issue, there were different opinions about how to deal with the Ajax/Fauquet question vis-à-vis the upcoming special issue. I quickly decided that I would do an article denouncing them. I was encouraged to do so by people in the group, who thought it crucial, but some in and outside the group felt that if Ajax and Fauquet were being denounced, a piece representing their earlier writings should be published. We all agreed that some of their earlier articles represented a high point of present-day French-language individualist theory. As one person put it, Kropotkin's anarcho-trenchism during World War One did not negate his previous work. Considering their subsequent evolution, however, would publishing material from their *L'Unique et son ombre* period nourish the feeding frenzy in the *Anarchy* letters column? A couple of local individualist-influenced post-situationists who were not in the editorial group were up in arms about any hint of not printing earlier stuff in order to cater to the P.C. hysterics in the *Anarchy* readership. Following several long discussions, the editorial group decided to print a piece on the relationship between individualism and surrealism, a topic which has been little explored (if at all). In my opinion the text is flawed—Ajax seems to deny any link between anarchy and individualism, for example, writing off the former as inherently social, which is historically inaccurate. Ajax is hardly the only one, on the other hand, to have criticized the French Anarchist Federation for the way it interacted with the surrealists (See Doug Imrie's English translation of Pietro Ferrua's pamphlet *Surréalisme et anarchisme*, available for free from *Diffusion Noire*, B.P. 852, Succ. Desjardins, Montreal, Qc., Canada, H5B 1B9).

-Michael William

1. Articles from *L'Unique et son ombre* which appeared in *Demolition Derby* are available from Michael William, C.P. 1554, Succ. "B", Montreal, Quebec, Canada, H3B 3L2.



Does the Abolition of Prison Mean
the Abolition of Justice, Laws and any kind
of Society? **YES**

AGAINST PRISONS

by Catherine Baker

This text is a talk which was given by Catherine Baker at the Abolitionist Congress in Amsterdam in June, 1985. Catherine Baker has written several novels and is the author of two books denouncing obligatory schooling: *Insoumission à l'école obligatoire* (Barrault, 1985), and *Les cahiers au feu* (Barrault, 1988). She can be contacted by writing to: Catherine Baker, 25 boul. de Belleville, 75011 Paris, France.)

We are living in a cynical time, when things have become simplified as far as prisons are concerned. The days when we could imagine that convicts would "become better" are over. No one dares to adopt this discourse, and even the stupidest penologists and the journalists who echo such nonsense recognize that even if the learning forced upon a few very rare prisoners gives them the means to better express their desires, how much more beneficial it would be if it was given to the same exceptional cases outside prison.

Today it can be said aloud that dungeons are dungeons, cages are cages, and that nothing can be done about those who are locked in, since the main thing is not to do them good but that offenders be *banished inside the national borders*. They are purely and simply suppressed. This is why short prison sentences appear inept and totally meaningless.

Long prison sentences, on the contrary, correspond perfectly to a collective desire to murder. We eliminate bothersome people, like any crook would. If the death penalty has disappeared in some countries, it was because it was too exceptional. It was not that death itself seemed indecent, but all the fuss that was made about it. Even those who call themselves revolutionaries always calmly imagine death for the enemies of their freedom; from the army general to the terrorist, through the perpetrator of a hold-up and the policeman, everyone agrees with the saying "You can't make an omelette without breaking eggs."

The death of those who prevent us from living has never bothered anyone, provided people don't make a fuss about it. If the citizens of Philadelphia expressed their discontent in May 1985, it was not because the police dropped an incendiary bomb on a house full of people whom the neighbors had denounced for living too squalidly, but because in doing so, they destroyed part of the neighborhood.

So prison is the ideal kind of death, because it eliminates en masse those whom society could only physically kill in very small numbers. It economizes emotion.

However there is an enormous problem, a fundamental problem that makes this eliminatory system inadequate for modern society. Apart from those who commit suicide (who therefore take "the law" into their own hands), the rest, in

most countries, eventually get out of jail.

This is not the place to analyze how we have arrived at this aberration, but prison only misses its vocation by a hair's breadth: the death it dispenses only lasts a few years or decades. Prison confinement seldom takes its logic to its conclusion, if only because society must recognize a scale of prison sentences that corresponds to its own scale of values. In emotional terms, crime has a monetary value: cheating on your wife is not punishable by law, whereas cheating your business partner makes you liable to be brought to trial; "self-defence" is "legitimate" when policemen confront thieves, but not the other way around; killing in order to steal is more serious than killing out of anger; after all, you would be sentenced to a longer term for stealing twenty million dollars than for stealing one million. These are all common examples of the commercial value that judges attribute to offenses.

So prisoners get out. Imprisonment will, at the very least, have got them "riled up". No sensible person could stand the thought of living with people who have been deliberately driven to anguish and made violent and enraged. So not only does prison not protect "decent people" from criminals, it daily releases delinquents who are labelled and provoked as such into unimprisoned society. It is absolutely mistaken to think that prisons make anyone feel secure. The well-being in a few people's minds that sometimes results from the existence of prisons does not correspond to a desire for security at all, but of one for vengeance. What they want is not prison but punishment, and this is why they are not at all opposed to prison abolition, as long as prisons are replaced by "something better".

Public opinion does not exist; it simply hides the pressure groups that the media echo: thus, little by little, the viewpoint of a few administrators is taken up in the media to the effect that prison is useless, and above all that it is out of date: it is not a good investment. During the riots of May 1985 in France, newspapers that were considered the most reactionary asked the question which is itself the subject of this Congress, and which the *Parisien Libéré*, for example, placed on the front page in big print: "It is true that prison is useless, but what should it be replaced with?"

Thus, prison abolition follows the trend of history. There is no doubt that questioning the merits of prison has been widespread during the last ten years, not just among "specialists" (criminologists, sociologists, educators and psychologists), but also among their usual outlets (journalists and politicians).

It is important to be aware that this Congress is modern. We are apparently slowly reaching a stage where prison will be eliminated in 80% of all cases, for which alternative measures

are being sought. For the remaining 20% considered dangerous, the eliminatory aspect is strengthened, either by inventing "non-traumatic" death penalties (death by injection), or by actually imprisoning delinquents for life, or by classifying them as mentally ill people who either can or cannot be returned to society cured and calmed down. The agreement that is being reached regarding the need to begin the abolition of prisons with that of short prison sentences takes little notice of this affirmation's immediate corollary, which consists of imprisoning the remaining 20% (or 30% or 3%; one can imagine the kind of bargaining the figures will be the subject of) under the heading of "dangerous". As scapegoats and symbols these people would be the playthings of a sinister *mise en scène* that would be even more hate-filled than today's. One cannot consider freeing minor offenders without implying that offenders that are considered serious *must not* be freed.

When there is talk of reducing prison terms, once again it is to "soften the punishment", to make the prison sentence "more bearable". But we should question the absurdity of wanting to reduce the suffering that is inflicted *precisely* by the justice system.

Reformists, whether they are animated by mere profitability or by so-called humanitarian reasons, have in common their modern outlook. It is reformism that allows prisons to endure. Today, making prisons "more liveable" means making them better adapted. Not better adapted to people, however, but better adapted to our times. Modernization of punishment can only be carried out because charitable souls and enlightened minds take the time to think of a modern way of punishing.

Whence the idea that an alternative to imprisonment must be found.

AGAINST JUDGEMENT

Others, we hope, will critique the system of fines or "freely accepted" forced labor.

We shall limit ourselves to observing that such punishments are as old as the hills, and that their modern aspect is only due to their cynical nature.

Alternative solutions, not to punishment but to judgement, seem more interesting.

It has been said of "negotiations" between the victims and perpetrators of misdemeanor offenses that they are to prison what diplomacy is to war.

As abolitionists, we are aware that, if prisons are to be suppressed, there must be a wish to avoid any judicial apparatus or sanctions. We also acknowledge that it is as desirable to look for conciliation from the victim as from the offender.

Nevertheless, we are not sure whether either the offender or the victim will want a friendly arrangement. Indeed, the non-offender, *a priori*, does not expect to begin "conciliation" to find an *arrangement* that enables him to accept social rules. Will the offender, who does not accept the whole game, be willing to come to terms and collaborate with or fraternize with the enemy? (We are obviously not talking about the victim here, but the whole social apparatus of support for the victim).

Therefore we are posing the question of this system and the systemization of this conciliation. Who would be the conciliators? Reconciliation professionals? Psychologists? Volunteers? What interests will they defend?

We reject any kind of confinement. The hyper-policed life we are offered, in which people arrogate the right to understand what caused us to act, bears too much resemblance to the confinement of social control as it already exists in certain monstrously over-developed countries. Social workers, psychologists and doctors who think it is their duty to mend the holes in the fabric of the community do so not out of a wish to preserve their own happiness, but for the survival of systems for which they wish to be the maintenance teams.

On the other hand, we can quite accept and hope that every person might count on people who would associate with him to help him resolve a conflict situation, provided this help is punctual, unique and individualized, and this is why we mistrust all conciliation procedures, which would just be a further institutionalization of relationships. For we all especially suffer from not being able to create relationships that are not immediately reduced to social machinery.

Conflicts are not handled by those who experience them but through so-called "objective" legal procedures, which in reality make objects out of all of us.

We do not need to vent our indignation or judgements on society. Clearly, some actions or behavior upset and scandalize us, but we do not consider ourselves "rewarded for our troubles" by the creation of a machine that is no more interested in what is particular about my opinion than what is particular about the perpetrator's opinion of his action. Justice is done in our name, that is, in place of us. But if my place can be taken I no longer exist. The problem of Justice can never be brought up without looking each person's uniqueness in the face: murderer, victim or judge, no one can put himself in another's place.

The question "What is to be done with criminals?" is the very type of question that turns "criminals" into abstract beings separated from their own being; alleged criminals are only a tiny part of themselves: they are not individuals, that is, "people who cannot be divided without being destroyed".

The above question, which seems to fascinate crowds so much, must be completely reconsidered. It is not a matter of knowing what an abstract social entity can do to another abstract social entity, but to see what each person (myself, yourself) should do when faced with someone who attacks him (myself, yourself). The only worthwhile question is knowing how I myself can be neither a criminal nor a victim.

By far the worst danger lying in wait for us is the total loss of our uniqueness. As abolitionists, we want to repeat that we are against imprisonment, against all prison systems, because there is a monstrous fraud involved. In the name of all and of each one of us, we are judged innocent or guilty, our actions are swallowed into the social and everything we are is only taken into account after this digestion, where we are no longer ourselves but an undefined element of the only possible whole, the "social body"; each person is sent back to his assigned place as a functional member: murderer, journalist, woman, bandit, child, etc....

"What is to be done with criminals?" is a criminal question, a question that perpetuates the trap we want to avoid falling into, the trap that consists of perpetually negating the individual.

If a terrorist who had just placed a bomb in this room was discovered here right now, we all might ask ourselves, "What will we do, he and I?," but already the sentence "What will we do to each other?" would seem shocking.

So how should we act in an emergency to escape death? The one a bomber intended for me, but also the one I would be condemned to by any vision that would make an interchangeable unit out of me, one that would kill me as an individual?

We are not saying that this society is poorly fashioned and that after the revolution things will be better. Thus, revolutionaries who ask themselves how the problem of delinquency could be approached in a future society continue to suppose as an unquestionable fact that there must be a system to regulate relationships, to allow their social machine to function. This judicial system actually exists today, and putting red, green, or black judges in the place of white ones can be of no interest to abolitionists.

The idea that in an intelligent economy, technical progress could bring about such satisfaction that no one would want to oppose such a golden age is outdated. Moreover, it is clear that anarchists can no longer advocate banishment without being absurdly hypocritical, since

no society can imagine including anti-social people without wanting to socialize them in one way or another.

To the question, "What is to be done with those whom society will not be able to *recuperate*, and whom it therefore considers the lowest kind of garbage?", we think there is only one solution: to stop wanting to socialize people. What should torture be replaced with? What should prisons be replaced with? What should trials be replaced with? With nothing. These three questions remain interchangeable, because all of them assume that what does not bend must be broken. We completely refuse to ask ourselves, "How shall we break people?" The opposite of this, which we make our own, consists of asking ourselves, "How shall people not bend?" In this respect, delinquency concerns us. It interests us in that it expresses something irrecoverable, not in its forms, which nearly always bear the imprint of the most appalling *normal* social relations (sexism, violence, leader worship, money worship, etc....).

As abolitionists, we have other ambitions than maintaining social systems of any type. We do not want isolation; this goes without saying, otherwise what would we be doing here? We want to think with others about ways of living with others outside pre-existing systems.

It is the community that secretes isolation. In any cogent notion of community—we must repeat this—each person appears to be no more than an infinitesimal part of the only complete being: the community. Man, then, always lacks others instead of freely, in his uniqueness, desiring others. We believe that each individual constitutes a whole. His desire to meet other "wholes" just expresses his freedom, not a kind of gregarious determinism.

The abolitionist movement is not a militant movement; we have no cause to defend, the prisoners' any more than other ones. We are struggling neither for them nor even with them, but for ourselves. We are neither humanists nor leftists; we don't want to work for more humane prisons. Prison is only our affair—and even then!—is just a part of our affair when we are imprisoned. Some abolitionists are imprisoned today, but each person, wherever he is, struggles against his confinement and against a social organization that can only logically lead to punishment and elimination. From this it follows that we are not "outside contacts" who, for example, would serve the prisoners by circulating information. Today, prisoners or not, we simply want our individual freedom. If I were in the prisoners' place, perhaps I would fight for improved prison conditions, but I am here, outside jail for the time being, and I speak from the outside. (When I say "we", then, I know that only abolitionist prisoners and non-prisoners, that is, a very small number of individuals, recognize themselves in this "we").

We cannot bear being locked up, in prison or elsewhere. We cannot bear being deprived of freedom. For us on the outside, prison is no ordinary threat: it is what harms us, not just because it is the symbol of all of our confinements, but also because it is the real conclusion of an unbearable logic of normalization.

Individuals are judged not in conformity (guilty) or in conformity (innocent), but in any case, judged. We say that if we agree to be assessed, we deprive ourselves of our judgement, our thoughts, our being. The tragic division between the innocent and the guilty, those in conformity with the system or not, destroys all of us. Anything that reinforces this gap is antagonistic to us; this is why we cannot feel concerned by reformist struggles that aim to make prisons less painful. For us, abolitionists inside and abolitionists outside, it is the very idea of prison and trials that suffocates us. We know there are prisoners who are trying to arrange society in such a way that its punishments are acceptable. They are our enemies, as are all those who are determined to restrain us in a life that we cannot make our own.

Prison is an ideal angle from which to attack our own individual confinement. We recognize ourselves in prisoners' refusal precisely when they revolt against confinement. Because we are outside we

know that we are imprisoned inside walls of constraint. But we cannot take up on our behalf any revolt that intends to reproduce social relations in prison that might still be missing, for, contrary to a widespread idea prison socializes prisoners as much as it can (respect for hierarchies, authorized kinds of leisure activity, blackmail at work, privation and privatization of inter-individual relationships, etc....). Prison is not a disease of our society at all; there is nothing monstrous about it: it is the height of society, the height of all societies, of all community organization of social relations. The media, the police, the justice system, but also education, morality and culture—everything aims to maintain the cohesiveness of the whole by force. Prison punishment is necessary for order and order is necessary for society. We could never imagine a society without order, and order without prison punishment. We have all internalized this so well—reinforcing the bars and guillotines in our minds to the point of going mad with anguish because of it—that the State keeps us under its thumb quite "naturally," because we are, in reality, "irresponsible". But the State is only a machine serving something more terrifying than itself: behind the State there is a will, a human will. Man is there with his laws. Down with Man.

We are men who are in revolt against Man. That animal is a social animal. Are we happy about it?

AGAINST LAWS

We want to abolish Justice. Does that mean the abolition of laws, and therefore of any kind of society?

Because laws are undoubtedly essential to life in a society. No one doubts this: neither do we.

The law guarantees each person's rights. It forbids or permits, but in any case it is imposed from the outside. To speak of an inner law would be meaningless.

The members of any society, bourgeois, socialist, communist, anarchist or some other kind, have common interests to defend; they have to envisage a common response to anything that can threaten it; they must devote themselves to considering, in common, the question of external enemies and war, or internal enemies and delinquency. From a societal or community point of view, logic requires an organized defence, a judgement shared by the whole, a punishment. Some think that Justice will not be good Justice as long as it remains separate from the people; they want a Justice that emanates from the community. As far as we are concerned, judgement can only remain individual. Even if the judgement of several individuals on some event were unanimous, it would not be communal and could not be generalized. On the contrary, the characteristic feature of a judgement that asserts itself as being one of the whole community is that it no longer belongs to anyone.

By saying "We have every right", abolitionists abolish laws, for each person becomes his own sole reference. If there are acts we do not commit it is because we do not want to commit them. That's all. Forbidding rape is of interest to no one. On the other hand, each person will no doubt find it of interest to consider means of being neither a rapist nor a rape victim. Recognizing that everyone has a right to rape me or hack me to pieces expresses my awareness that laws can in no way protect me. It is as aberrant to say, "If killing was permitted everyone would kill" as it is to say, "Since killing is forbidden I will not be killed". We feel secure with people we trust and no law in the world will change that. We can only be of interest to each other if judging people is reduced to a minimum; we need to rethink things starting from our personal viewpoint.

Life would not be any more barbarous without laws. It is within a society with laws that people kill and rape; it is particularly in a society with laws that "decent people" are ready to lynch or flay those they assume are guilty of a crime that they find disturbing. Moreover, it is from this viewpoint that advocates of prison abolition are considering creating refuges for delinquents who refused conciliation.

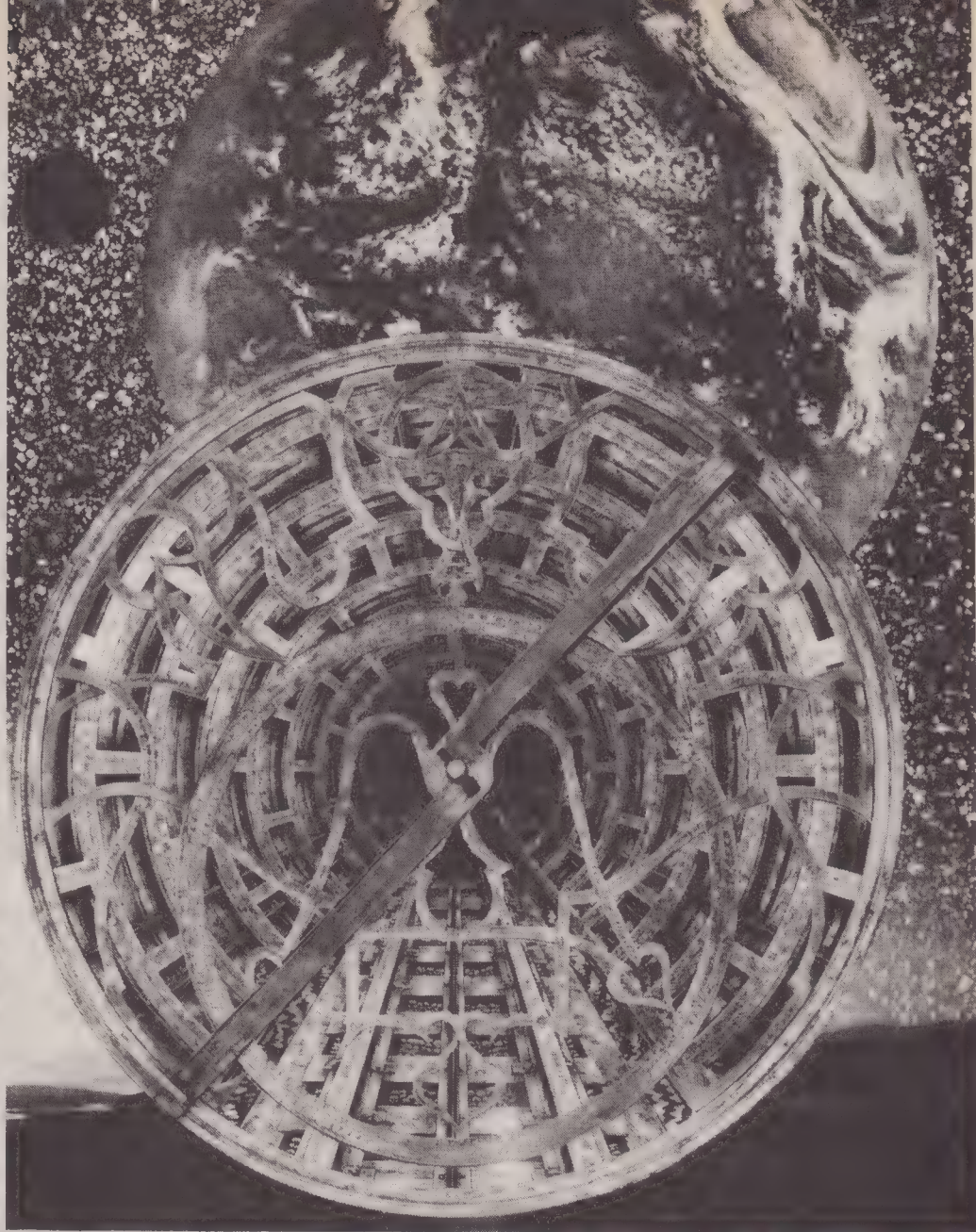
But protecting and punishing the criminal are two sides of the same thing: it is a matter of assigning the criminal to a place. He and the victim are locked into roles that were defined earlier and independently of them. And again we lapse into this very, very old idea that everyone must stay in his place if we want the system to function. The perpetuation of this system, of this organized set of relations, still remains each person's sole aim. But this sole aim is always outside of oneself.

The definition of law is "A mandatory rule imposed on man from the outside". It is obviously because they are outside us that we reject all laws, including, of course, the law of the strongest: we are opposed to force so long as the force in question seeks to restrain us. So it is useless to rehash that delinquency, as such, embodies none of our aspirations: competition, sexism and rackets are laws that we fight, all the more so because society makes them its own, condemning only what is criminal, as Thierry Lévy has shown very well in his book *Le crime en toute humanité*, because it is not on a par with the crime that society indulges in. It is true that for its survival, society can only integrate all individual impulses that pass through its nets by labelling them delinquency and locking up delinquents; making people believe through the media that what is dangerous for it is dangerous for everyone enables the systems we are familiar with to redirect to their own ends what is very often only disgust, anger or weariness at the outset.

It plugs up the cracks with respect to any behavior that opposes it and could thus appear deviant or revolutionary. In doing so, its victory restores a new dynamism to it and allows it to further enlarge its field of activity. (Our optimism consists in affirming that only what is recuperable is recuperated. The irrecoverable is possible. For individuals cannot totally identify with society; they know that they realize what is best in themselves outside of society -- through friendship, love, art, brilliant thoughts, etc. -- and that every individual aspires to what makes him a unique being).

So society tries to socialize crime with trials, and then criminals with prison. It monopolizes every person's acts because there is in effect a rivalry between owners: myself and the community, to which it is tragically said that "I belong". As soon as they are carried out our acts escape us: if they are judged "anti-social" they are punished, and independently, of course, of ideas we might have about good or evil; the insane, the rebellious, and alleged criminals are all locked up. Being locked up in a prison, a camp or a hospital is only the culmination of a confinement apart from ourselves that all of us suffer.

As abolitionists, we want the individuals in question to reappropriate their acts, whether or not they are called *crimes*. Crime does not exist as such. If there are indeed painful circumstances and horrible acts that are inflicted on us, we ask nothing more than to try to avoid them by considering, alone or with a few others, means of protecting ourselves from any infringement on our mental or physical integrity. We note that progress is a notion that is absolutely devoid of



meaning: we think, therefore, that we must break free of a way of thinking that has only led us to dead ends. It is not the Law but freedom that can allow individuals to live in harmony by forming relationships that start from themselves, not from the social relationships they are forced into today.

We have been stripped of everything and made strangers to our own lives. We cannot bear it. The word "revolution" has been confiscated by politicians, so we will use it sparingly, which is no problem, but we certainly hope that our ideas are taken for what they are: a concrete change. So when we affirm that we do not recognize anyone's power to judge us or our acts, we are really abolishing the infamous social consensus, which is just based on turning oneself over to the community. Men have never broken with the idea that they had to give up their singularity for the benefit of the *human species*.

On the contrary, not only would we like to consider ourselves specific individuals, we would like to consider as such every person who wants to be so. As abolitionists, we behave in such a way that criminals and others can reappropriate their acts, because we want to live among people who think about their lives and do not abandon them to social authority. The idea of society does not go without saying. The abolitionist movement is one sign of this, among others.

•Translated by Doug Imrie and Michael William

In Memoria

by John Zerzan

Memory is a basic human faculty that, despite its vagaries and problematics, we pretty much take for granted. Memory is so much always at hand, so basic to our ability to grasp reality, that it might seem impossible to accurately understand. Stephen Braude (1992), for instance, concluded that it is "plausible to regard memory as a phenomenon that is literally unanalyzable."

But what of the "anthropology" of memory? In a formulation that Adorno and Horkheimer (1947) perhaps did not take far enough, "every reification is a forgetting", and reification, the conversion of the living and autonomous into things, into objects, is the foundation of civilization. Domestication is its pronounced realization. How much, then, has memory been defined or deformed by domestication, by a world in which the very structure of experience has been essentially altered? And if reification is a forgetting, it follows that the demystification and dissolution of reification must involve a remembering. According to phenomenologist Edward Casey (1987), "We have forgotten what memory is, and can mean; and we make matters worse by repressing the fact of our own oblivion."

Memory is socially and culturally constructed. Every model of memory is thus culturally specific, and, as Melion and Küchler (1991) point out, the pursuit of memory promotes and maintains cultural formation itself. Politico-cultural practices, in dialectical interplay, influence the shape of memory. Arthur G. Miller (1991), for example, studied the ways in which "pre-Hispanic calendrics and territorial management strategies fashioned memory as a process of selective remembering and forgetting, governing patterns of labor and loyalty."

Russell provided a rather famous philosophical argument to the effect that, for all we know, the world might have sprung into existence five minutes ago complete with our "memories" of childhood, etc. We unconsciously strive to not be a part of memory that alien-

ation has forged, knowing that Russell's questioning does nothing to lessen the force of that memory. History has been cynically referred to as the science of forgetting, perhaps because what it remembers is inadequate to an understanding of our sadness, our incompleteness. As the poet Carnevali (1967) said, "memories weep or mourn, all memories do."

The origins of our condition and its long, painful passage must be re-collected if memory is to claim its own memory. In the *Phenomenology of Mind* Hegel claimed that memory "forms the passage from representation to thought." But since representation and thought are themselves non-neutral, this formulation does little to uncover the roots of what has been so deeply obscured.

Three hundred years ago, Robert Fludd saw memory as reflected in the organization of the external world. He saw its contours represented by those of some Renaissance technologies, especially theaters. Today acquisition, storage, and retrieval of memory data is the dominant model, obviously based on memory as a computer. Now we experience an increasingly programmed and impoverished collective experience, one of whose primary effects is an imposed cultural memory that legitimates dominated life. And the very defining of memory is inseparable from the texture and organization of social existence. Its embeddedness in the prevailing state of division of labor is a key aspect of its variability and limitations.

What can we say of memory in its current condition, and its connections to other cultural dimensions? In terms of time it presents features that may seem contrary to our unexamined associations. For example, as Brain (1966) observed, our sensation of time is not furnished by memory. Having memories "is not," in this regard, "enough, for having a memory is a present state." If time is the enemy of life lived in the here-and-now, memory cannot be seen as its ally. Like dreams, memory takes place outside of time. Or as Friedman (1990) understated it, "time is relatively insignificant

information in the natural functioning of memory."

But in a life-world so divided and alienated, we seem to exist in time itself. All of our assumptions and preconceptions proceed from that basis, with the shape and force of time a pretty exact measure of the division and alienation of that existence. Very much to the point is how closely our notions of memory are tied to linear conceptions of time, as Frances Yates brought out in *The Art of Memory* (1966).

Language also has a deep impact on memory. With language comes the turn toward mastery, as in naming. Spengler (1922) noted that memory is "the capacity of storing for the understanding by means of the name, *the named*." The trajectory of domination is etched in memory as it is everywhere else. Arthur J. Miller (1991) wrote of ancient sacred knowledge rendered into text: "When memory became scripture, the past was cast as linear narrative, delimiting the future within the scope of previous events."

Mnemosyne, or memory, was celebrated by the Greeks as the mother of the muses, but the conversion of myth into written language extends a debilitation begun by language itself. Kuberski (1992) goes so far as to say, "this is the last stop of memory, when it becomes a text."

Language takes on a life of its own, ending up in our current postmodern condition in which, it is often averred, there is nothing left but language. Words reduce and deform the experiences they symbolize; there is no language that would represent memory without such modification. Memories are resistant to being translated into words. Referring to the clinical setting, Donald Spence (1982) observed a "perennial conflict facing the patient between what is true and what is describable."

Almost three hundred years ago, Vico counted imagination as one of memory's three aspects. Gaston Bachelard (1964) provides contemporary reflection on the

Continued on page 50

Loose Cannons

Guest Column

Rewriting History: Anti-Authoritarian comments on "Holocaust" "Revisionism" by Lawrence Jarach

Dedicated to the memory of Erich Muhsam, gay Jewish anarchist poet; murdered by the Nazis at Oranienburg concentration camp, 1934

History is written by those who win. As anti-authoritarians we should already understand this; we are among the defeated often enough. Among anti-authoritarians there is a healthy distrust of the mainstream media and official reports, given that they represent the dominant, authoritarian forces in society. Some of us have learned to look at who is doing the talking, what else they've said, whom they work for. We should be accustomed to facing lies, like those told about Sacco and Vanzetti, the Spanish Civil War and Revolution, Leonard Peltier, MOVE... the list is endless.

There should be no "givens", whether philosophical or historical, within a critical anarchist perspective, because when there are it is almost inevitable that analyses become ideological; conclusions are pre-formed in accordance with certain assumptions, and the facts are selected and tailored to fit them. This is a real danger to anyone who is trying to discover what really goes on. "Holocaust" "Revisionism" is a perfect illustration of this kind of ideological fact fucking.

Why "Holocaust"? I have difficulty with the implicit insularity of the term; as though Jews have been the only group to experience attempted and actual genocide. To maintain that the Nazi attempt to wipe out the Jews of Europe was an unparalleled phenomenon is to ignore what has happened to countless other minorities who have run afoul of those who have power: Native Americans, Armenians, Tibetans... this list is also, sadly, endless. This is not to say that there weren't singular and unique aspects to Nazi ideology and policy—there were—but this isn't the place to analyze them. The consolidation and maintenance of State Power periodically necessitates that those in control find an identifiable segment of the population to single out for punishment or revenge. Isn't

the state, after all, the ultimate repository of social violence, which is inherently oppressive? Is it not the arbiter of "legitimized" coercion? And what is more coercive than punishment?

So even though every literate person knows what's being described when "Holocaust" is used, I prefer to follow Arno Mayer and use the term Judeocide. Obviously this word glosses over the numerous other victims of Nazism, but I do believe that the Nazis had a pathological obsession with the Jews, so this necessitates some specificity. "Holocaust" "Revisionists" have limited their discourse by speaking almost exclusively about the Jews, but the Judeocide could not have been attempted without a more pervasive ideological foundation that allowed for the forced physical separation of parts of a population.

Everyone who looks at historical events and tries to explain them in a way that's up to date or that's new is essentially "revising" the past, especially when dealing with previously unknown data. "Holocaust" "Revisionists" would have everyone who will listen to them believe that it is their self-appointed mission to uncover all historical fallacies, no matter how uncomfortable or inconvenient the truth may be. But if this is the case, why have they focussed almost exclusively on the Judeocide? The skepticism and doubts necessary for inquiry are taken to absurd extremes, to the point where they dismiss eyewitness accounts as unreliable.

Their real mission is ideological. They are not skeptics or doubters of the Judeocide—they are deniers. Rather than trying to clarify the complexities of the Nazi reich and its relation to the Jews who came under its shadow, the deniers obscure and confuse. They are not trying to revise history in the positive sense of making it more comprehensible; they are trying to rewrite it completely.

In the U.S., the deniers are based at the Institute for Historical Review, which publishes the *Journal of Historical Review*. The IHR was founded in 1978 by Willis Carto who had previously been expelled from the John Birch Society because of his anti-Jewish ranting and obsession. He formed the Liberty Lobby, the umbrella organization for the periodicals *Right*, *American Mercury*, and *Spotlight*, as well as Noontide Press and the ironically labelled League for the Survival of Freedom (in the winter of 1993 the IHR kicked Carto out, charging him with misusing funds, and Carto counterattacked by saying that the IHR had been taken over by the ADL). All the members of these different groups share a specific ideology and paranoid view of the world: they are right-wing extremists, "anti-communists", white supremacists, and Judeophobes. Among the books Noontide distributes (I have only seen a catalog, so I don't know which books they

actually publish) are some by and about prominent Nazis. Of course they offer the obligatory *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, and other material "exposing" the Judeo-Bolshevik plot to destroy Christian Civilization. Real cutting-edge radical reading.

Deniers are trying to prove that there was never any plan to exterminate European Jewry. Their argument is that the Nazis only wanted to "relocate" them "to the East" (using the language of the Nazis), as if the forcible uprooting and removal of thousands of people from their homes and livelihoods is some normal and uninteresting event. They admit that some Jews died, as did thousands of other civilians, but they explain that these deaths were due to disease and allied bombings.

Their more important, but unstated goal is the rehabilitation of fascism as a positive social theory. It is less explicit in the *Journal of Historical Review*, but even the most cursory glance at other denial literature makes this frighteningly clear.

If rightists can show that the reports of the camps are exaggerated or misleading, then they can begin to claim that fascism wasn't really that bad. They think, probably correctly, that the specter of mass murder is one of the biggest obstacles to people being in sympathy to their vile ideas; without the legacy of the death camps, fascism can somehow be "purified" and can become attractive once again.

What possible benefit can anti-authoritarians—or anyone else not a fascist—hope to get by associating with these creeps, and being spoon-fed by them?

The goals of denial and rehabilitation are fused, with the Jewish Question being part of the larger more comprehensive agenda. That their position is even a little bit credible among people who are not neo-Nazis, Klansmen, and Jew-haters shows that the deniers know how to inject their doubts into—and manipulate—public arenas.

By far the most effective method employed by the deniers is to appear as martyrs for the cause of Truth. They insist that they are willing to accept (often they actually seek) ridicule and abuse in the defense of free inquiry (just as a "bad" child will provoke punishment; negative attention is better than being ignored). They use the controversies they create as a way of gaining credibility. Free speech strategies are often employed, playing on the liberal ideal of fairness.

In a culture that is as commodified as this one, ideas can be latched onto and discarded as easily as last years' fashions. One idea is as good or bad as the next; even transparently fascist and stupid ones like those of the deniers appear as equal in value to more sound perspectives based in critical theory.

Another tactic they use is to demand

incontrovertible proof of deliberate mass murder while constantly dismissing all eyewitness testimony as being biased (in the case of survivors and Sonderkommandos) or produced under duress (in the case of SS guards or camp commanders). Regardless of the almost complete agreement of these reports, all are unacceptable to these "truth seekers"; the consistencies are just one more proof of a cover-up. It would appear that the only acceptable eyewitness evidence would be from the actual victims, who are, conveniently, dead.

As if these transparencies weren't idiotic enough, they unashamedly use red herrings, or as I prefer to call them, "True Facts". A true fact is a piece of information that is indeed true and factual, but so completely divorced from any context that it has no real meaning.

True fact #1: "Six million is not a real or accurate assessment of Jewish lives lost" (the actual number varies among the different deniers). This number is conventional shorthand—like "Holocaust". No one will ever know exactly how many Jews (and others) were killed by the Nazis; scholarly reports estimate the low at just above 4 million and the high at around 5.8 million.

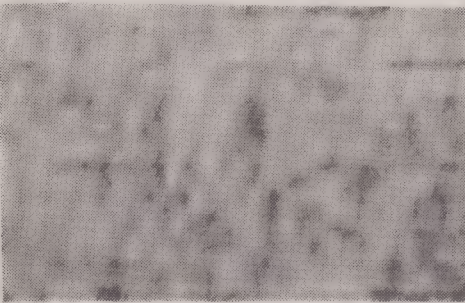
True Fact #2: "The director of the Auschwitz museum has changed the estimated number of people killed at the camp from 4 million to just over one million". The other part of the story is ignored: he also changed the estimate of the percentage of Jewish victims. With the 4 million total the estimate was only 25 percent; now with the reduced total the estimate is that nearly 90 percent of the victims at Auschwitz were Jews, so the total number of Jews murdered stays almost the same.

True Fact #3: "There were no 'extermination' camps in Germany". I know of know one who actually claims there were, since it is well known to anyone who bothers to look at any reputable book on the subject that the death camps were in Poland. There were concentration camps all over areas dominated by the Reich; the eugenics program led to the "mercy killings" of hundreds of thousands of the physically and mentally handicapped—in Germany, before the war.

These "shocking" facts have been examined, in context, since the end of World War 2. In 1953, Reitlinger showed that six million was a rounded up number that was ambiguous. The indictments at Nuremberg state that 5.7 million Jews had "disappeared". His high estimate (considered low by many) is that 4.5 million Jews were murdered, his low 4.1 million. Hilberg asserted that the total deaths at Auschwitz were probably "only" 1.5 million. For people who are supposedly interested in uncovering the truth, the deniers have an uncanny ability to ignore most of the serious research done in this area.

Deniers rely on the general ignorance of

the public to make it appear that they—the defenders of truth and "free inquiry"—have just recently discovered these shocking discrepancies in "official history". Dependent on this ignorance and apathy they present themselves as beleaguered scholars, and they sow their confusion (in the hope that it will bear



fruit by the time the last eyewitnesses are dead) through the impartial and totally neutral venues of talk shows. This is their preferred medium because they know they'd be laughed out of any respectable academic environment.

What about the other part of the denial litany, that Zionists exploit the "phony" official story to deflect criticism of Israeli treatment of the Palestinians? Well, yes, the Zionist establishment has used the world's "guilt" about not helping to save European Jews as a way of dismissing critiques aimed at Israeli government policy. The memory of the Judeocide is invoked often and deliberately to silence dissent and objection. Israel's supporters and apologists howl in protest when comparisons are made between the Nazi treatment of Jews and Israeli policies toward the Palestinians; the parallels are, however, all too obvious. But there is nothing especially ironic about the similarities: the problem is not who rules, but that there are those who rule.

It's much easier and more relevant for anti-authoritarians to examine and critique Israeli policies for what they are: part of the depressingly ordinary functioning of the average state. The deniers use the Zionist logic that "the Holocaust excuses everything" in reverse: since there was no Holocaust, there are no excuses. Anti-statists must already know that there are no excuses.

The anti-Zionism of the deniers is boldly Judeophobic. Anti-authoritarians have plenty of reasons to object to Zionism and Israel's policies without being "helped" by fascists.

The real and crucial issue for anti-authoritarians and anyone else with critical abilities is this: concentration camps, relocation centers, re-education camps, reservations, psychiatric hospitals, prisons...whatever their designation, whatever the relative security involved. On a social level, institutions of involuntary incarceration are among the ugliest manifestations of authoritarianism.

Rounding up and relocating segments of a population is utterly inhuman. Herding

groups of people into ghettos, reservations, or camps; tearing them away from their homes; institutionalizing humiliation and violence against them—these are characteristics not of anarchic relations, but of fascism. It seems ridiculous to have to remind anyone of this, but it would appear to be lost in the boring debates about numbers, deliberate plans, and technical details.

Regardless of whether or not there was a deliberate Nazi plan to exterminate the Jews of Europe (and there's plenty of evidence that there was), putting people in concentration camps with poor, inadequate sanitation and shelter will *always* result in epidemics, malnutrition, and therefore many, many deaths. Regardless of whether the totals number in the millions or hundreds of thousands, or "only" a few hundred, the facts are that the Nazis forced people—real human beings, not numbers—into conditions of deprivation, humiliation, slavery and death.

The Nazis didn't invent the idea of camps for non-combatants, but they showed the world what can be accomplished by promoting an ideology that necessitates the relocation and concentration of real or imagined enemies of the state. They proved that the use of cruel, brutal monsters is not required to carry out such a murderous program. Anonymous bureaucrats and clerks can implement the gradual erosion of human and civil "rights" quite efficiently; once a totalitarian ideology becomes ascendant at the expense of the concepts of individuality and individual worth, brutality will know no limits.

From the paranoia against immigrants and people with AIDS, to the "War on Drugs" and ethnic cleansing, state violence continues to hold sway over the globe. Wherever fear and hatred of the Other are dominant and coupled with the exercise of social power, you and I are in big trouble. The important lesson and true horror of the legacy of Nazism and Fascism is that the roots of such a system of escalating brutality and predation are found everywhere in the modern world.

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Schiz-Flux

By Josephine Guerls

Pundits for Capitalism

It's often fun when I run across libertarians who espouse their enthusiasm for free-market capitalism, if only for the sense of nostalgia it brings for an era I never lived thru, and in fact, never existed. In the days described in Emma Goldman's *Living My Life* when one could open an ice cream parlor in Chicago with \$25, individuals to a certain extent could still enter into self-determined marketeering without necessitating a bank loan. Capitalism was around but hadn't so thoroughly permeated existence as it has today after generations of capital have spawned its own consolidation, and given birth to the consumer society in an attempt to reabsorb the surplus it siphons out of production and consumption, i.e. out of workers and consumers.

Capital begets capital. Its base is ever expanding through cycles of investment financing and debt return payments. Each time capital completes its cycle, the individual grows smaller in proportion to it. The so-called "free" market phase of capitalism is long gone. Capitalism was never free except for those with capital. The accumulation of capital by the ruling elites at the dawn of capitalism is continually reproducing itself. Capitalists are the original welfare class. Their wealth is the result of an extraction of surplus value which creates and distributes scarcity among the populace. Scarcity, alienation, misery: these are products of capitalism. The distribution of lack is capitalism's supreme goal, about which we will learn more later.

Capitalism was born when sufficient wealth and resources were disproportionately amassed to create the weight and momentum to over-run and break-up the artisan guilds, and force them into the sweatshops of a nascent industrialism. This accomplished the decoding of the instruments of production. Independent craftsmen and farmers were transformed into alienated laborers, i.e. persons derived from abstract quantities. Indeed, capital appropriates production, so that things are produced for profit, not so that people's needs are met. It draws all economic relations into its own sphere announcing the triumph of the quantitative over the qualitative, and production for production's sake. Thru its seizure of produc-

tion, capital substitutes the indigenous cultural codes for an axiom of abstract quantities in the form of money. It replaces the older territorial codes and feudal serf relations with a new social axiom which is a mode of subjugation that has no equal. Capitalism constructs its self-referential economy on the basis of decoded flows.

Also integral to the birth of capitalism was the deterritorialization of the soil. The enclosures movement, a violent process whereby common, public lands were privatized, created a mass of disenfranchised peasants to fill the factories and rent houses of the cities. By chasing peasants from the commons, young capital supplied (and created) for itself a working class, human bodies that have been converted into commodities for purchase by capitalists.

Capitalism sets up a fundamental interrelation between capital and labor. On the one side, the deterritorialized worker who has become "free" (landless) and naked, having to sell his labor capacity; and on the other, money that has become capital and is capable of buying it. Since capital reproduces itself, those who have a good chunk can merely ride the crest of capital's ever-expanding wave of self-reproduction, surfing on the wave which gobbles up magnificent forests, displacing the last stone-age tribes, huddling them into reservations and cities to join the mass of disenfranchised proletarians. The forest is plywood and toilet paper now. You can flush it away as it spits out your broken body into the cesspool of pollution, shit-out as an afterthought of the frenzied push for profit. We, and every exploitable living and non-living thing are mere quantitative objects for capital. In fact, under capitalism, persons are derived from abstract quantities. The reason of the system is built-in, impersonal, abstract. Its objective reason is to suck the qualitative into the quantitative. We are capital's structural linchpins. The yuppie surfers break our backs as mundane adjuncts to the impersonal structure, but in order to play the role of ruling class, one intentionally or unintentionally embodies the essence of greed, capital's institutional expression. The surplus extracted from the poor to create the rich Boss-Master has its psychological correlate in sadism. Binary polarizations. Masochism for the wage-slaves.

There is no free-market capitalism. Capital is not free for those who labor. The one-person enterprise marketability of Emma's time was more and more eclipsed by the widening wake of capital as it sucked more living labor to its cold, dead body, and grew to unheard of proportions. This so-called "free" market capitalism was surpassed by monopoly capitalism, which later on gave way to monopoly-merger capitalism... Multi-Corporate/National Capitalism. The New World Order is a Global Cash

Heist, the biggest racket, a mega-mafia. Once, nation-states and their rulers were the biggest bullies. Now Capitalism is a transnational machine that swallows weak nation-states whole and can no longer be completely controlled by even the strongest (the much lamented decline of the U.S.). Multi-national corporate conglomerates have gained control of the governments and wage wars for the crassest of objective reasons: to absorb the surplus created by the last Military-Industrial Arms Build-up, (the last investment-payback cycle), only to expand again, to build stronger, deadlier means of annihilation. Such is economic domination conducted by the modern state as regulator of capital's flows.

The continual expansion of capital is also the territorialization of capitalism. At its cutting edge, it deterritorializes and reterritorializes simultaneously. This simultaneous process of deterritorialization/reterritorialization goes from the center to the periphery, that is, from the developed countries to the "Third World", which does not constitute a separate world, but rather an essential component of the worldwide capitalist machine. Upon the "Third World" is imposed the capitalist relation of unequal exchange. The creation of a foreign debt is the point of entry for management of national economies by international investment brokers acting collectively through the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. The underdeveloped countries, with their modern industries and plantations supply the developed countries with capital, not the other way around, as popular mythology holds. The development of underdevelopment on the periphery ensures a rise in the rate of surplus value, in the form of an increasing exploitation of the peripheral proletariat in relation to that of the center. The deterritorialization of the soil, the decoding of the instruments of production: these are continually recurring each time capital and its missionaries invade a new area. Scarcity, misery, alienation follow in their wake when indigenous modes of living are supplanted by the bulldozer of progress. This is neither good nor bad from capital's perspective, which is beyond good and evil. It is merely one of the axioms of capital: to expand from the center to the periphery, towards its own exterior limit. But it never reaches its limit because it is continually displacing it outwards, and substituting for it its own relative immanent limits. It expands—Boom!...then busts—the problem of the falling rate of profit. Crises are immanent to the capitalist mode of production. It inhibits its own tendency, functioning well only providing it breaks down. Just look at the homeless people dying in the street and you can see the effects of capitalism. It steals the food right out of their mouths. While people die of boredom and toxicity all over

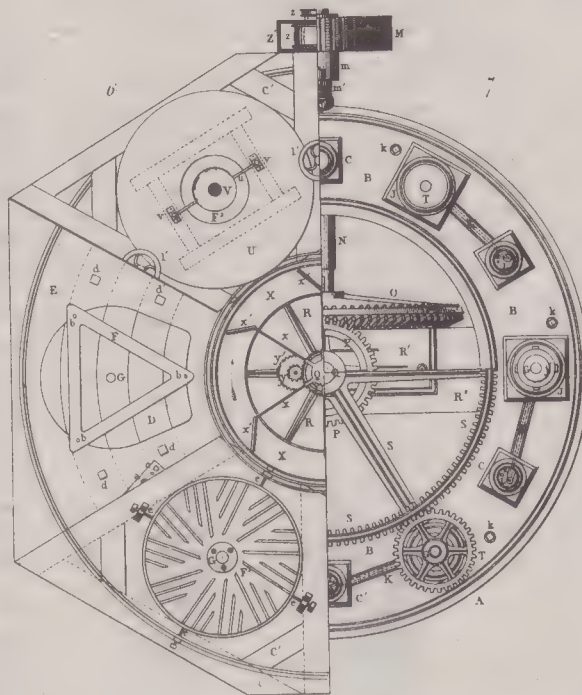
the country, one can easily deduce the source of the problem. You guessed it, capital.

Except for a few remaining insignificant enclaves, the globe is encompassed by a World Integrated Capitalism. Unless individuals are stealing, foraging, scamming, dumpster-diving, squatting, camping, growing their own food, and voluntarily trading with others, etc., they're most likely working for a boss, selling their labor to gain capital to pay rent and buy groceries. These wage-slaves comprise the vast majority of people since capital, in its centuries-long campaign to appropriate more and more land, resources and labor, has effectively ensnared virtually everyone into its web of domination, creating profit for the capitalist class through work (production), rent, taxes and consumption.

Capitalism became a monopoly because the rules are set up that way. To charge interest on money loaned in pre-capitalist society was termed a "sin." This was a practice which functioned to stave-off the imposition of value as an independent substance. As stated before, under capitalism, money begets money, value a surplus value. Value is endowed with a motion of its own. Instead of simply representing the relations of commodities, it enters now, so to say, into relations with itself. It differentiates itself as original value from itself as surplus-value; for only by the surplus value of \$10 does the \$100 originally advanced become capital. Picture capital as a molten core of plutonium radiating outward in all directions. Its capacity to reproduce itself on an ever-widening scale is part of its makeup. This is one way of saying that capital constitutes its own immanence. Its foundation is a whole field of immanence that is always reproduced on a larger scale, and is continually multiplying its axioms to suit its needs. That is to say, it can always accommodate more "radical", exterior elements into its fold. Hippies, punks, co-ops—all can function in capitalism and serve its interests.

The accumulation of capital is expressed thru a dualism of money: payment and financing—one going into the account of the wage-slave, the other into the balance sheet of the enterprise. Measuring both in terms of the same analytical unit is pure fiction, a cosmic swindle, as if one were to measure intergalactic or intra-atomic distances in meters and centimeters. Often I have pointed out the difference in magnitude of the two types of money under capitalism to people who believe we are living under free-market capitalism. Their typical response is that individuals with initiative can

work harder or craftier than the next bloke, and one day, switch money magnitudes and become a capitalist too! This "pull-yourself up by your own bootstraps" theory plays a prominent role in dissimulating the real operative mechanisms of capitalism. It is a starring tenet of individualist mythologies



which are still rampant today, if only as a denial of the pathetic collective predicament of most people. It is the dream of peons wanting to be kings. Indeed, one may become a capitalist, but not everyone can. The non-comparable measure of magnitude between the two types of money expresses itself as a relation of infinite debt. There's only room for a few at the top.

The non-existent era referred to as Free-market capitalism was a time when capitalist relations had formally subsumed society, but there remained domains it had not yet fully penetrated: leisure time, belief, family relations, sexuality—anything defined as "private". But upon completing its *extensive* expansion, whereby capitalism pushes its geographical boundaries to the point that it encompasses the globe, it is again confronted with a falling rate of profit, an idle surplus which begs to be put to use, an overproduction of goods without sufficient demand for them. So capitalism undertakes its grand project to colonize desire and replace it with artificially-produced need. In short, it creates the consumer society whereby the last oases of domestic space are invaded by consumer/commodity relations. This is real subsumption of society by capital, its phase of *intensive* expansion. It puts a television

into every house and saturates the collective mind with competing brand names and jingos. Advertising targets the most intimate spaces of desire for its marketing campaigns. It is the calculated manipulation of psychological and emotional needs for profit. The four dense points of capitalism:

commodity/consumer, worker/capitalist are now superposed in everybody in every spacetime coordinate. The operational arena of capital becomes immediately coextensive with the social field. All flows of desire directly invest the economic infrastructure. In spite of that, the principal modes of absorption of surplus value are outside the sphere of consumption and investment, in advertising, civil government, militarism, and imperialism.

The more the capitalist machine deterritorializes, decoding and axiomizing the flows in order to extract surplus value from them, the more its ancillary apparatuses, such as governments, bureaucracies, and forces of law and order do their utmost to reterritorialize, reabsorbing in the process a larger and larger share of surplus value. Endless faceless employees of surveillance, education, punishment, regulation, imprisonment—a whole effusion of anti-production within production, causing flows to circulate on the full, dead body of capital.

It is not over for desire. Desire and capital share the same economy, the economy of flows. Like capital, desire also constitutes its own immanence. It flows on the Schiz-Flux body of intensities, causing other flows to circulate in the social field. If there were no freedom or desire for self- and collective participation in becoming, capital would have won for good. Thing is, it depends upon a continual process of overcoding our flows and subjugating them to its infinite debt, its abstract quanta units. How to dismantle the traces of capital left on the body? To free the quanta flows of qualitative, uninterpreted desires. How to exit the dead end fate of school docility, mom and daddy's child, priest's victim, military's cannonfodder, boss's ass wipe, landlords spitting urn. Shit out the excrescence of corporation and state. Identify your desires in their multiplicity. Make peace with air, with water. Travel the earth, sink your hands in the soil, frolic in the face of authority. Fuck in the streets! Establish an alternate existence outside the clutches of the economy. In capitalism we are reduced to the survival pleasures of commodified consumption, which is life reduced to economics. Remember, life escapes the economy and for fun will destroy it!

The Iconoclast's Hammer

By Feral Faun

The Unique One: A Manifesto

Strange to me, the strivers after "species being"—acid-addled hippy oneness mystics or ultra-left commie fringe groups...They don't see that "species being" is the capitalist, which is to say, the social goal....

Overcoming capitalism is overcoming "species being", and this is the play of the unique one.

The unique one—the one who has gone beyond her meaningless humanity—the banalities he shares with every human—to create her own life, his own world, for herself....

For this is authenticity—to actively author one's own life. The unique one lives without guilt, morals, excuses, apologies, humanity, identity, past, future.

The unique one knows no regret for things not done, because always the risk is taken. She knows no guilt or shame for what is done, because he does it all intentionally.

All interactions are consciously created—with intention—the only reason: to increase the pleasure and intensity of life.

To some, the unique one appears to be an anarchist, because he defies authority in all its forms whenever it gets in her way.

To others, she appears to be an elitist, because he refuses to keep herself down because of the weakness or stupidity of others or because of liberal, moralistic demands for mediocre equality.

The rebellion of the unique one is aristocratic in the Nietzschean sense—a rebellion of squandering, of taking for oneself the full enjoyment of life in all its aspects—including the enjoyment of others' enjoyment.

It is not a rebellion of sacrifice, for the unique one will give up nothing for any cause....

Nor is it a rebellion of *ressentiment*—The unique one never demands that anyone pull herself down to the lowest common denominator of humanity—Who wants the communal, democratic "self-management" of misery and mediocrity when one could experience the intensity and passion of the loves and hates, the unions and conflicts of unique ones creating their desire?

The unique one is motivated by a "will to power"—a will to exercise the power of perpetual self-creation for her own enjoyment. The social context parodies this will with the will to exercise the power of domination and manipulation—the will to control others' lives because one lacks the courage to create one's own. The unique one knows that social domination is not a form of self-creation, but is merely enslavement to a social role.

The unique one will not fall for any of the half-measures offered by society: financial "wealth" which is just another face of poverty; political "power" which is just another face of weakness; romantic "love" and sentimentality which are the pallid faces of passionless pre-made social interactions....

For her greed for life is boundless and will encompass the universe.

—The Anomalous Union of Schizoververse Egoists



In Memoria

From page 45

relationship of memory and imagination, a connection whose vitality should not be devalued. Meanwhile, Baudrillard repeatedly assures us that we can no longer imagine a different world. To remember and to see a better future are related faculties, their atrophy a mutual condition.

Memory is not a matter of objects brought to consciousness but is a part of the dynamics of consciousness (Rosenfield 1992). Wittgenstein rejected the Lockean view of memory as a storehouse; Proust virtually equated memory and perception in his notion of "involuntary" memory. Of course, it can also be a form of conditioning, depending upon the social environment and method (or lack thereof).

For Freud, memory occupied the entire psyche. But, he observed, remembrance is

made difficult due to repression of dangerous childhood wishes and feelings. The Freudian thesis posits early sexuality as the seat of all such charged emotional memories, though it can be read in a wider sense. Enid Balint (1993) described a repression of memories more basic than those of a sexual nature, involving reactions against the nature of a young child's reality. Experiencing an incoherent world, the infant fails to establish an acceptable view of it. "If the baby cannot build up such a world, it may be because he cannot bear the dissimilarities he perceives (or the way he is perceived), so his perceptions are disavowed....these disavowals may lead to complete loss of memory of the whole world in which unacceptable perceptions were made." The implications regarding memory and critique are obvious.

The original fragmentation and separation of humanity by the reifying force of domestication has produced the idea that the psyche consists of different parts functioning independently of each other and thus legitimately considered independently. Neurology has been unable to determine where and how memories exist in our brains; in fact, unlike computers, they seem to have "no space at all allotted solely to memory" (Herbert 1993).

The misguided effort of science to "pin down" memory—or consciousness in general—recalls Freud's rather contrary position in this area. One of his most eccentric and generally ignored beliefs (1915) was that the individual's memory reproduces an inherited recollection of the entire human species. Jim Culbertson (1963, 1976, 1982) has argued that consciousness, including memory, permeates all of nature and is present even in its smallest parts. In an eccentricity that seems to parallel Freud's, Culbertson claims that remembrance is not a representation of that which is irretrievably past, but a partial re-experiencing of the event itself. Recall involves a "clear-loop link" to the actual moment in spacetime where the event is still eternally present. Fellow physicist Nick Herbert (1993) presents a similar, if slightly more conventional, view of mind as pervasive and deeply embedded in nature.

But again, the meaning of memory is best fathomed in context, as another site of struggle with domination. The ruling order seeks to enlist memory as an ally in its never-ceasing will to legitimation. It must serve as a mechanism of subjection, a means of sustaining hegemony. For our part, we have striven, since the advent of civilization, to resist this colonization, this shaping of memory's influence against us. Inherently contestatory, memory must battle, for its integrity, the deodorizing effects of nostalgia and the numbing of its vitality by routine.

Early on in the modern era Edmund Burke recognized the danger to the established order represented by a clear recollec-

tion of changes in society. Against such subversive memories he found custom to be an obscuring factor, a potent contribution to authority.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, roughly speaking, an industrializing West decisively broke up old patterns of life and struggled for complete control. Industrial capitalism depends upon mastery of both public and private realms for its stability, and its proponents rather quickly discovered the "inadequacy of available memory mechanisms" (Terdiman 1993) for the totalizing needs of capital. The basic dynamics of modern capital, however, provided the core answer to this challenge.

Exchange is as old as division of labor. Goods move and become different as they circulate; memories are displaced and altered over time via increasingly complex exchange relationships. Proceeding inseparably, embedded in each other, technology and class society produce commodities that are more and more reified and autonomous. Borrowing from Marx and Lukacs, Richard Terdiman's attention to the "memory crisis" of the 19th century (1993) included reference to what he called "the frozen and forgotten history of the object."

Once again, origins are of central importance in understanding our present extremity. The development of the commodity mirrors the trajectory of alienation itself, its beginnings always more clouded. Bordieu (1977) called this suppression a "genesis amnesia." As with time, technology, and other basics, the memory of the production of a world of commodities is veiled from its consumers. The enigma of the commodity is thus a memory disorder, one that becomes suppressed, less troubling as the myth of progress grows by consumption.

Refusing the deflection of consciousness that progress is constantly issuing, Herbert Marcuse looked rather in the opposite direction. He was struck by the question of how past human suffering can be redeemed. "To forget," he reasoned (1955), is "the mental faculty which sustains submissiveness and renunciation.... Against this surrender to time, the restoration of remembrance to its rights, as a vehicle of liberation, is one of the noblest tasks of thought." It was in this vein that the Hungarian writer Gyorgy Konrad referred (1992) to Eastern European dissidents as almost alone upholding remembrance; the others must eliminate what they failed to do: "Most people have an interest in losing memory."

Heidegger stressed the point that the past is irrecoverably absent, while his student, Marcuse, saw that it is memory's ability to reverse the flow of time that makes it a utopian faculty. The repressed "remains unaltered by the passage of time" (Freud 1933) as personally painful or traumatic episodes are sealed from one's awareness.

But Marcuse was alert to a similar repression of pleasurable activities enacted and enforced by the needs of a pervasively confining and immiserating society. "Forgetting past suffering and past joy alleviates life under a repressive reality principle. In contrast, remembrance spurs the drive for the conquest of suffering and the permanence of joy" (1978).

Today the utopian hopes of Marcuse are definitely out of fashion. Our postmodern era is one of cynicism and even despair, embodying, as Frederic Jameson put it (1984), the "cultural logic of late capitalism". Human yearnings are eclipsed by the cold strata of images and hypertechnology; surface sensation, gadget titillation, jaded disinterest: increasingly a landscape of cyborgs programmed by amnesia. Jameson's "Postmodernism and Consumer Society" (1982) concluded that "Our entire contemporary social system has little by little begun to



Fig. 2

lose its capacity to retain its own past."

Jean-Francois Lyotard is a central postmodern thinker; characteristically, there is no component of remembrance in his approach. The overall picture of defeat, in fact, finds Lyotard denouncing memory for its use-value to the system: like everything else, capital pulls memory into its orbit and appropriates its functions (1973, 1989). Memory is explicitly condemned as a moment of theory, moreover, theory being a foolish struggle against forgetfulness, as Christa Bürger aptly noted (1991).

Memory has not been plumbed deeply enough as indispensable ally to theory. Adorno warned against a theory of origins and even Marcuse failed to reach back far enough. Meanwhile, the all but enveloping postmodern zeitgeist is equally opposed to remembering as to critical social theory.

The unthinking acceptance, indeed, "virtual worship of technology" (Lash and Friedman, 1991) is an important PM trait that is

closely related to its deficiencies regarding memory and theory. When technology is treated as a given (or worse, as a favorable "natural" development), we find that human, historical memory becomes supplanted by technology's memory. An inevitable, unconscious contingency that is far more trusted and relied upon than the kind it overrides, and with an undeniable ideological force.

If the hidden or unexamined—the forgotten—exerts a domination over us, the point of recollecting the past is to understand the force of its implicit truth-claim upon the present. The cumulative weight of the past "weighs like a nightmare" on the minds of the living, wrote Marx. To flee the past, so much of it—yes—but to know how and why means, in large part, memory. Marx's contemporary, Melville, expressed a dissent from the amnesia that was already gathering a century and a half ago, in the wreck of the Pequod in *Moby Dick*. Ahab's final order to the crew, to "sink all coffins and all hearses to one common pool!", stands for an evacuation of collective memory. But Ishmael, as he clings to the coffin inscribed with "hieroglyphic marks" of exterminated races, disobeys. "And I only am escaped alone to tell thee."

Until modern times the word *memory* extended across the vast range of the Latin *memor*, "to be mindful," *mens*, "the mind," and all the words that display the Indo-germanic roots *men-*, *mon-*, *mn-*, words related to thinking, intending, and being conscious or mindful in any way. The sense of memory was so broad as to encompass both death and love, for example. "How paltry the word *memory* has become since then!", in the judgment of Kroll (1990).

A technological context reduces memory to information retrieval, with a tendency toward enlarged colonization of what is whole, sensual, lived. Virtual Reality is offered to an impoverished spirit; memory implants may not be far off. Nostalgia, the other side of the coin and mirror image of progress, appeals to the feeling that the past offered pleasures no longer attainable. As Proust put it, the only paradises are those we have lost.

If we can see that art, and culture itself, are symptoms of human fragmentation, why is it impermissible to consider re-establishing the unity which has been lost? Referring to the ideal of living wholly in the present moment, futurologist John Holmdahl once playfully proposed an "Amnesia Foundation" toward that end. But to get there, we need not the suppression of memory, but its realization and supersession. Instrumental reason must be jettisoned along the way; perhaps even dialectical thinking, still drawing on memory, can one day be let go of, with new or unrecognizable senses and abilities coming into play in lieu of so many layers of atrophy and deformation.

Have something to say? Write us!

We would like to encourage you to write us in order to continue this dialogue, whether you are sympathetic or critical of anarchist theories and practices. All letters will be printed with the author's initials only, unless it is specifically stated that her/his full name may be used or that s/he wishes to remain anonymous, or the name already appears in *Anarchy*—as in the case of an author of an essay or creator of artwork published here.

We will edit letters that are redundant, overly long, unreadable, excessively boring or contain threats. (Ellipses in italicized brackets [...] indicate editorial omissions.) Limit length to three double-spaced, typewritten pages. Address your letters to B.A.L., POB 2647, Stuyvesant Stn., New York, NY 10009.

Destroy power

Howdy Jason, Mikell, Toni, et al.,

Yes, a truly new reality can only be based on the principle of the gift, like Raoul Vaneigem says, so I was glad to see the discussion of gift economies in Neal Keating's "Rioting and Looting as a Modern-Day Form of Potlatch" in *Anarchy* #39. Nonetheless, I think Keating's attempt to characterize rioting and looting "as a return to our potlatch roots" is a mistake.

Theft—if we take P.J. "Property is theft" Proudhon seriously—is what the *current* system is based on. I think we all agree that it's been less than satisfactory. I don't see a good reason to believe that even festive & ecstatic forms of theft are going to get us any closer to a sustainable, noncoercive society.

The anarchist project, as I understand it, is not to *seize* power, but to *destroy* power, and that is why gifts are subversive. By taking a commodity (= money = power) out of the exchange economy and giving it away, the giver is relinquishing power, and if the gift does not return to the exchange economy, that power is effectively destroyed. Theft, on the other hand, inevitably involves an assertion of power. Sure, rioting and looting can build and reinforce a certain kind of social solidarity among the rioters and looters, but the recipients of the rioting and looting will only feel solidarity with law'n'order politicians and the cops. A real potlatch, on the other hand, builds solidarity between the givers

and the receivers.

An anarchist society can only be created by building mutual trust and the general acceptance of the belief that people will treat each other decently even in the absence of coercive authority. Rioting and looting, in the minds of most people watching on TV, do just the opposite. And it's no use writing these folks off as just reactionaries or political illiterates because anarchy cannot be created by a vanguard—you can't coerce a noncoercive society into existence.

Don't get me wrong, I don't have anything against the destruction of property—as long as it's consensual. And Bataille's thesis that the real economic problem is surplus rather than scarcity is definitely appealing. However, as Bataille himself demonstrates in *The Accursed Share*, there are ways of "eliminating the conditions of continuous excess" other than destruction; the Tibetans, for instance, solved the problem by taking a third of the male population out of the work force and maintaining them in monasteries. Because we're so close to environmental collapse it seems like increasing slack is a better alternative than an increasingly frenzied cycle of production and destruction.

I'm not interested in passing judgment on any of the L.A. looters, not even the privileged white kids who lifted various items of celebrity lingerie from Frederick's of Hollywood. I do think it's important, though, that we not kid ourselves about what will and what won't get us

closer to an ecologically sound, libertarian society.

Boog, Lawrence, KS.

Neal Keating replies:

Freedom and exultation

While I agree with Boog that a "real" or traditional potlatch builds solidarity between the givers and receivers both, I don't think a traditional potlatch can be thrown without the proper conditions, which in modern societies are basically non-existent. From the point of view of establishing non-coercive social solidarity, a traditional potlatch has a positive impact, while the modern-day form has a negative one. That is because modern societies are accurately characterized by the absence of any sort of consciousness of the *Hau*. What needs to be understood here is that potlatching reflects the economic practices of the society where it gives rise. So where a traditional potlatch reflects the traditional economic practices, so it is in the modern case. The economic consciousness that prevails today is largely extractive, as opposed to reciprocal. Just ask someone who lives in Chiapas, or in the other thousand peripheries around the world where live the recipients of extraction. But let's get to the point: An end to coercive society will not be found in the idealistic project that Boog describes. Instead it is proposed that a different project be commenced at once, namely that of linking up the various demonstrations of general refusal, particularly those without vanguardist or ideological origins, and examining their potential for immediate increases in autonomy. I really have my doubts as to whether an anarchist society can be—or should be—created. Either way, this project need not restrict such creative ambitions, and may in fact enhance them. I do not see rioting and looting as the apex of autonomy. However, it's not a bad place to start to try to understand how power works, for precisely the purposes of destroying the same. A sort of general trajectory for such a project might be *go berserk, starting now*. Freedom and communalism are not set in granite for all time. The conditions that prevent or hinder traditional potlat-

ching are the same conditions requiring us to re-define, or re-invent, what it means to be free, or to be a passion-filled commie perv. I put the question out there: How shall we go about destroying power? I suppose there is merit in Boog's argument that in the long run, "theft," in the form of looting, reinforces coercive social structure. But that is the kind of merit that issues forth from tired academic dogma. I am not interested in such long runs. They have their own forms of coercion to reinforce. What I am interested in are those moments of freedom and exultation that are produced in the heat of riot or revolution, and yes, even theft. My interest is in understanding those moments in a practical way, i.e. how to create them, and even sustain them for something more palpable than a mere moment. The basic theory is that here you will find the strongest negations of power. I could be wrong, but I could be right. Why talk about creating a new society when instead you could be breaking out of jail?

Beer & Roses,
Neal Keating, Albany, NY.

Former yippie

Dear Jason,

I really and truly enjoy reading your publication. It is a wonder to behold. I buy it at the Barnes and Noble bookstore near a friend's house.

I am a (former) member of a (now defunct) anarchist group called "Yippie!"

Now that Yippie! is defunct, I am searching for other central midwestern-North American anarchist contacts & groups to work with. Could you please help me find some. [...] Any mail received w. an enclosed SASE will be sent a prompt, handwritten reply w/in 3 days of my receipt of their letter.

Yours truly,
Chris "The Anarchist" Ryan
1444 N. High #4A
Columbus, OH 43201

Time and death

Dear Mr. McQuinn,

I am writing in response to Zerzan's "Time and its Discontents" [see *Anarchy* #39]. I sup-

pose one could call it a timeless essay on man's musing about the nature and influence of time. It seems to me, though, that Zerzan rambles throughout most of the essay. The clearest and most helpful sections were "The Psychology of Time" and "Time in Science."

Zerzan made such a solid point about our enslavement to time that I found myself stripping the watch off my wrist. My wife and I have never owned watches, but recently I found several watches while I was dumpster-diving at a local department store. Now they're safely hidden away for a future date when we wish to bring ourselves back under the bondage of time.

To get to the point of why I'm writing, Zerzan in "Time," neglected one important definition or conception of time which holds quite an appeal to many people, myself included. Why couldn't time represent (symbolize?) our recognition of the inevitability of death? Humans are always trying to ignore and shield themselves from the reality of death. Time makes them aware that their lives are slowly ticking away, so to speak. Zerzan refers to death a few times, but never as a basis for understanding time. In Christianity, Christ is viewed as having conquered death so that Christians can have freedom. Thus, in a sense, Christ has freed his followers from the shackles of time.

Which leads me to my next criticism of "Time..." under the section "Time to Pray, Time to Work," Zerzan speaks of an "underlying Judeo-Christian tenet of a linear, irreversible path between creation and salvation." First, I need to clear up a misconception. The "Judeo" part of "Judeo-Christian" holds no such "tenet." The Judaistic philosophy and conception of time is the opposite of the linear view. They believe that cyclical and ever-recurring patterns appear in nature and in God's activity. One of these cyclical patterns which occurred in Bible history is disobedience-bondage-deliverance. Historically, Israel disobeyed, become enslaved by the Egyptian nation, and God mer-

cifully delivered them after they repented from their sin. That is the way they understood history, nature, reality, God, etc. Things happened in cycles, not in the "linear, irreversible" way that Zerzan asserts.

A somewhat more minor point is that Judaism does not envision creation or salvation the same way that Christianity does. To correlate or equate the two belief systems, as Zerzan does, is a bit off-kilter.

In the following sentence, Zerzan states that "this essentially historical view of time is the very core of Christianity; all the basic notions of measurable, one-way time can be found in

as having an attitude in life which transcends the strictures of time. He advises his followers to "consider the lilies and the birds of the air," to focus on the nowness of the present moment. "Therefore, do not be anxious about tomorrow for tomorrow will be anxious for itself." (6:34) Why use Augustine to pass judgment on Christianity when Jesus, the founder of Christianity (at least in its aboriginal stages), had His own view and attitude toward time?

I hate to be a stickler for accuracy, but that's just one of my hang-ups. Overall, I really enjoyed Zerzan's contribution and it makes me consider my

Amerindian nationalism

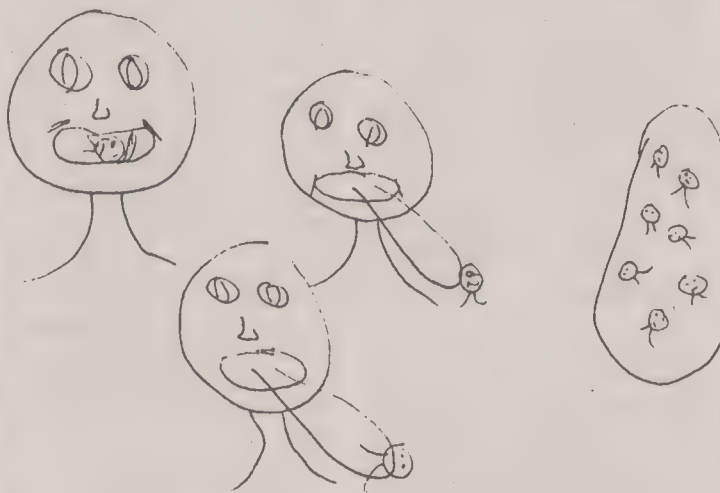
Dear Jason,

Now that you've done an exposé on the silly sleaze Steve Schwartz, why not provide the lowdown on another opportunist—Ward Churchill?

As little as Toni Otter says in reviewing two of Churchill's books, she reports, as fact, the fraud that Churchill is an Indian. He's not. He told the *San Francisco Weekly* (Oct. 6, 1993) that he is "about" one-sixteenth Indian—far less than many millions of whites and blacks. Churchill is not enrolled in any tribe. He extols traditional Native culture but does not practice it in the resort town where he lives. He grew up in a college town, not on a reservation. He is himself what he calls others, a plastic Indian.

While it is true that Churchill is codirector of the minuscule Colorado chapter of AIM (a group with only 5,000 members nationwide), he and other urban white "Indians" in AIM are currently in conflict with some of the genuine Indians in the organization. Tim Giago, a Sioux publisher, calls Churchill a "white professor, a police agent and a terrorist" (the latter a reference to Churchill's membership in the authoritarian Weatherman SDS). Carole Standing Elk says, "It's obvious he has no spiritual base. He's trying to subvert the movement." AIM cofounder Clyde Bellecourt is another Churchill critic.

It would be more meaningful to identify Churchill as a state employee and tenured professor in the pseudo-discipline of Ethnic Studies. Not that his academic credentials count for anything. Previously a university affirmative-action bureaucrat, he maneuvered successfully to get onto the faculty although he does not have a doctorate and has, unaided, conducted no serious scholarship. Western films and mystery novels being the only primary sources he seems to have ever investigated. His few publications are almost all in leftist or racist periodicals, especially *New Studies on the Left*, edited by his girl friend Annette Jaimes. I have found



The big heads eat the little heads

David Ruggiero, *The Outer Limits*

St. Augustine's (fifth-century) writings." Whoa! Mr. Zerzan have you ever read Augustine, or are you going by someone else's interpretation of Augustine's works? Numero uno, Augustine was and is not the only nor the primary exponent of Christianity and its view of time. Christianity contains an amalgam of perspectives on time and has much more than a strictly linear understanding thereof. It has incorporated some Judaistic elements, i.e. cyclicity. But it has other views as well.

One Bible passage, Matthew 6, in particular, portrays Jesus

relationship to time. I've also benefitted a great deal from Zerzan's contribution to the book, *Technology: Tool, Toy, or Tyrant*, and I certainly don't intend any disrespect by the above-mentioned criticisms. But Zerzan should do his research before glibly pontificating about "Judeo-Christian tenets." To some people, Judaism and Christianity are not just a pile of tenets. Nor should they be quickly shoved under the most convenient theoretical rubric in order to "prove" that time is an insidious force. [...]

Sincerely,
A.Z., Sanford, NC.

his books to be jumbles of lies, hatred, fantasy (he thinks the first humans were American Indians!), authoritarianism, errors and sheer insanity. His analysis of the legal status of American Indians and their land claims, for example, is, regarded charitably, wishful thinking. So numerous are his canards and absurdities that my effort to collect and debunk them has taken me months and is still incomplete. For a typical example of his self-promotion as well as racism—on behalf of a race he doesn't even belong to!—see his column in the October *Z Magazine*.

Guilt-ridden white leftists fly Churchill all over the country to gratify their masochism by delivering a diatribe now published as "I am Indigenist." Indigenism—which is really just Amerindian nationalism—is an ideology concocted mainly by Mexican intellectuals of Spanish descent. There were no indigenists in 1492, and there are not many on the reservations today (hence AIM's 5,000 members out of an Indian population of almost two million). Like most ideologues, indigenists are urban intellectuals with, at best, only an abstract awareness of the conditions and the content of traditional life. Nationalism is not native to the Native Americans, most of whom had stateless societies; it is, to borrow Churchill's favorite cuss-word, "Euroamerican."

Churchill's own agenda is thoroughly statist. In the aforementioned essay he proposes the secession of approximately one-third of the "lower 48" states as an Indian State. Unfortunately—I consulted the 1990 census figures—this will require the expulsion of about 20 millions whites, Chicanos and other non-Indians, an atrocity without precedent in human history. Also, unfortunately, a substantial majority of American Indians reside in what would remain of the United States—until millions of vengeful expellees kill them or drive them off to Churchill's Empire. True, Churchill admits the possibility of some whites being accepted as members of Indian

tribes, but he also says his State can sustain at most 5 million people at traditional life-styles, so at least 17 million non-Indians will have to take to the Trail of Tears. According to Churchill, the forcible relocation of some 17,000 Navajos is genocide. What word refers to the forcible relocation of a thousand times that many people?

Plainly Churchill is either a madman or a hoaxter, maybe both. He's milking the Multiculturalism mania for all it's worth. People actually pay Churchill to defame them. Anarchist media respectfully review him and, in the case of the *Fifth Estate*, suppress all critical rejoinders. A semi-literate con-artist who scammed tenure, Churchill parades as at least three things he is not: a radical, a scholar, and an Indian. Let Churchill himself have the last word: "You don't have to be a cop to do a cop's work."

Bob Black
POB 3142

Albany, NY 12203-0142

Pomo pussies

Anarchists,

On the reviews of Patrick Frank and the imbeciles who find it necessary to print the work of Raoul Vaneigem.

I find it interesting that Frank claims the publications of Gilles Deleuze are consumer oriented—at least this is the impression I received after reading Frank's review of *On An(archy)* and *Schizoanalysis* by Rolando Perez in the Fall '93 issue; moreover, his use of the word *postmodern* is typically fascist and American. Among those generally targeted as being pomo pussies by Frank are Derrida, Deleuze, and Foucault. Doubtless, however, the only pussies are those, like Frank, who must refer to things as being pomo (my republican professors love the word pomo) or consumer oriented. Derrida and Deleuze do not feel obligated to refer to their thought as postmodern, but the pussies who are published in the journal of desire armed (obviously a take-off from Deleuze and Guattari's *Schizoanalysis* [Editor's note: Not

likely!]) are unable to function without the Kantian categorical imperative, which is certainly not very anarchist.

Further, that idiot your editors appear to think so much of, Raoul Vaneigem, and his piece of shit book, *Revolution of Everyday Life*, hasn't written one damn thing Foucault or Deleuze hadn't already written, and hasn't written it as well either. We who wish to change the way our society functions can certainly sympathize with your journal, however, the minuscule panderings of a reviewer like Frank, or a writer like Vaneigem, simply makes *Anarchy* look like a rag for want-to-be intellectuals.

Frank writes of the "demon of simulacra" and pretending to be intellectual, yet I find it hard to believe that he has risen above the very things he ridicules. Frank's quotation of "the prison house of language" (indeed it's odd that Frank is not able to communicate without writing) from Fredric Jameson—a neo-marxist that is certainly no anarchist—leads me to believe that he, Frank, has either failed to seriously study Deleuze or that he is merely repeating Jameson's response to the anarchist writings of Deleuze. In either case he is certainly not qualified to intelligently comment upon Deleuze or Derrida. But this doesn't stop him from making several stabs at it anyway. Perhaps Frank is right to criticize Perez's book, but I see no reason for him to sneer at the writings of Deleuze or Derrida. I agree with the general thrust of the arguments presented in *Anarchy*, but for Frank to insinuate that he has somehow transgressed those authors who obviously created the discourse he operates in because he supposedly lives as he preaches is intellectually and politically naive. Does Frank not take part in the capturing apparatuses of the capitalistic fuck-over machine? After reading things like Derrida's *Writing and Difference* and *Glas*, Deleuze's *Nietzsche and Philosophy* and *Anti-Oedipus*, *A Thousand Plateaus*, and Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra* and *On The Genealogy of Morals*,

Frank's reviews appear childish and intellectually numb. Why doesn't he do what he wants others to do and be honest about his situation? Doubtless we cannot give up the spirit of social revolution, but there is no need for Frank to kid himself about his abilities as a writer to change society. Simply saying it is doesn't make it so. Is this not the spirit Frank wishes to engender upon others when he attempts to educate them about the totalitarian nature of their discourses, their "form of democracy," that determines the way we all must live?

read some real writing,
Irving, TX.

Defining racist values

Dear Editor,

I am an anarchist within every legitimate meaning of the word, but I have trouble understanding the views of many self-proclaimed "anarchists." My main concern is the very loose and negligent use of many words of significant political value.

Anarchy, first of all is derived from Greek, and means, literally, "no rule." To be an anarchist therefore means to defy being ruled, by person or government. This is a very generic definition, rationally authentic, yet practically impossible as I will explain further on.

My problem with the use of the word anarchy is that all too often, so-called "Anarchists" actually impose their own rules when defining anarchists' values or would-be actions. Under a "no rule" doctrine, no other belief can be considered right or wrong, save the imposition of rule itself, politically or otherwise. Thus, the too often abused terms such as racist, fascist, nationalist, or chauvinist, etc. have no real purpose in the vocabulary of the anarchist. In a state of anarchy, which all anarchists are presupposed to desire, a person, being free from all rules, cannot be wrong to dislike certain races, or gays, women, men, dogs, cats, spiders, trees, etc., etc. To claim any belief wrong is to impose rule, thereby terminating the state of anarchy. In reality, the beliefs

of these terms so often used by anarchists in a derogative way, are completely compatible with the beliefs of an anarchist. Anarchy is not synonymous with liberal, never has been, never will be.

Fascism is surely the most misunderstood and abused word in political terminology. It denotes a political system based on the love of Race and Nation. Before the advent of pure Capitalism (democracy) and Communism, two provenly ineffective forms of government, a nation was a political structure and domain for the protection and preservation of a race. Its inhabitants, united in Race and Nation, and working and fighting for both, could be properly labeled fascists, although the term was not used in those days. When Capitalism and Communism became powerful movements, nations, much to our demise, became financial structures for the maintenance and security of monetary systems, rather than systems for the maintenance of peoples and cultures. All those opposed to the mighty dollar being the center of our political universe were labeled as fascists by international financiers. It has thus come to be understood as a definition of tyrannical, despotic government, despite its legitimate and positive definition (look it up in a good dictionary).

Racism is an emotionally loaded word which also has legitimate meaning but is misunderstood. Scientifically, it means the belief that some races are more advanced than others. Politically, it basically means the love and preservation of race, and oftentimes the desire to segregate the races. Racial beliefs, right or wrong, are rooted in Biblical teachings, personal experiences, and even in Darwinism. Under the "no rule" theory of anarchy, racial dislike or segregation would be a personal prerogative, and to deny someone such is to apply rule. Anarchists defy all rules, Hypocrites defy all rules except those they believe in. The Universe must submit to some natural authority. As a realist, I personally find that fundamental



law of nature to be the key phrase in practical application of Anarchical belief—"natural authority." I defy rule, I despise rule, yet I peaceably and happily concede to natural authority. The natural and goodwilled authority of the parent over the child, the elder over the youth, the strong over the weak, the genius over the simpleton; this we must concede to in order that we might find peace amongst ourselves, be at one with nature, and know the will of God.

Peter N. Georgacarakos
POB 1000
Lewisburg, PA. 17837

Tad responds: Goodwilled authority

Your letter is so full of self-contradiction and second rate attempts at sophistry, that I'm tempted not to respond at all if not to respond at damning length. But (just this once), I'll spare everyone a full tedious delineation and denunciation, and just say that your "natural law" can be anything anyone wants to say it is, and "segregation" is in fact rule. Continuing your forey into the ri-

diculously hypothetical, what if I'm black and decide to follow you around twenty-four hours a day heckling you for your belief in white superiority, social Darwinism, and god? That would be my personal prerogative, as much as it would be yours to hate me for it. Of course, if you decided to punch me out because of it, that would be an attempt at coercion on your part. But, according to your absurd hypothesis, if you were "strong" and I "weak," the beating you would mete out to me would be "goodwilled," part of nature's inexorable winnowing of the wimpy. But hey, I'm a "genius," and would probably be strapped, and I'd scatter your "simpleton's" skull all about the immediate area, in a goodwilled, benevolent manner. Natural selection, y'know.

If you want to be a racist, that's your every right. If you want to be an authoritarian, go ahead. Just be aware that I, for one, hate that shit, and if you use your ideology to stand in the way of my enjoying and using this world of mine, you are my enemy. If you and your buddies up in Hayden Lake, Idaho, for instance, take over the Pacific Northwest after the "revolution" in the name of "Race" and

"Nation" and refuse me entry to the area because I'm a purple-haired punk-rock junkie faggot nigger-lover—well, we'd be back to the natural selection thing again, wouldn't we?

In a cooperative, loosely communalist, "anarchist" society, practitioners of your particular pet ideologies would rapidly find themselves in conflict with others—not, on my part anyway—because of "moral" issues surrounding your beliefs, but because they are ideologies whose legitimization, realization, and survival are based on coercion. Consequently, they stand between me and my freedom.

You're a prisoner, aren't you? I'm sure your keepers will be pleased to know you've been so admirably rehabbed. Did you show the above letter to your parole board? Your "arguments" are indistinguishable from those used by your captors to legitimize your imprisonment. Hope you enjoy your stay.

The Autnome Project

Brothers and sisters,

The Houston Collective is in the process of opening the Bayou City's first alternative space.

The Autnome Project will be a combination coffee house/community center/art space. The Autnome will also house a bookstore-magazine stand, where we will sell anarcho-syndicalist literature (there's no place in Houston that sells zines like *Anarchy*, *5th Estate*, etc.).

We will host a bunch of activities at the space, among these are: live music (punk/alternative), improv theater, poetry slams, political discussion groups, guest speakers, performance art, and free speech/open mike nights. We will also be providing a free Sunday brunch for homeless/low income people.

In order to be able to open an @ space in a conservative city like Houston, we will need the help of the Int'l Anarchist Community. Therefore we're humbly asking all non-authoritarian types to please send letters of support and suggestions, magazines or flyers to distribute, stamps, contributions or

anything you deem to be helpful.

Your brother,
S. & J.C.,
POB 981101

Houston, TX 77098

PS: If sending contributions please send well concealed cash or a money order with the "Pay to the order of" left blank.

Sufficiently irked

Dear *Anarchy*,

I am writing in response to H.F. of Winter Haven, FL. (*Anarchy* #38 pp.66-7, "All anarchists look alike"). At first, I had decided that it was not necessary to respond as it is a typical, uninformed critique of anarchy. However, I am now sufficiently irked.

H.F., you claim that most *Anarchy* readers aspire to a perfect state of ideal freedom on a utopian scale. It is clear that you have only "perused" this magazine, for that is only one picture of anarchy. I do not expect that anarchy could produce a perfectly harmonious society that incurs neither change, nor violence, nor conflict. We won't escape human nature or existential limits by not having rulers. True human nature will be revealed by free people who are not constrained in their relationships by political and economic repression and powerlessness. You fear that "desire armed" would mean that the weak would fall prey to the strong. Is that not how it is under a government? When I arm my desire, I grow things and feed people and strive for honest interaction and get rid of illusory shit.

I think you are trying to put one over on us by claiming that "careful analysis" eliminates revolution or anarchy as choices. You then claim that you have examined every revolution and found that they only make governments more repressive. You also condemn all anarchists as wanting to put themselves in power by making the rules on the "proof" of looking at one magazine. Like we need another rhetorical non-proof that we should just be fatalists and not try to make anything better.

You blindly heap abuse on us

by claiming that we try to escape our humanity, our interdependence, and cling to alienation. What, you would have us watch TeeVee and go to work for someone else's purpose? Why do you think I read these damn letters?!? I often hear voices of people who are not afraid of saying what they think and are trying to act accordingly. Have you found some more real and human way to live? Lastly, I want to ask you, as an "omnivorous reader," why do you read if it is "a vain attempt to give life meaning"? I think you are just trying to have power over people by "knowing" more than they do, I wish you could hear me, because I am sincere.

Irene Owen

1160 Camino de Cruz Blanca
Santa Fe, NM. 87501-4599

Anal retentive losers

You asked for opinions on whether to cut letters that threaten violence against "adults" supporting "child"/"adult" sex. Hell, I say print 'em. They're *entertaining as hell*, and point out what anal retentive losers the ignorant knee-jerkers are. So much space has been wasted on what's very simple: can a "child" and "adult" have a non-exploitative sexual relationship? The answer can only be yes since some children, or children that've grown up, have said it was positive (or are they lying?). Hell, I had the hots for older women since I was 3. And I have 2 relatives in mind that I wished "exploited" me. But shucks, I'll never know cuz fools made it taboo. Yes, please print those wacko letters. Victims of repression like me need a laugh. Joey Homicides, Brooklyn, NY.

[Note: The letters that I cut are not specifically ones that 'threaten violence against 'adults' supporting 'child'/'adult' sex,' but rather, those in general that make death threats, regardless of who they're aimed at. A major problem I see is that by printing such letters we might be setting ourselves up for potentially easy manipulation by those currently engaged in COINTELPRO-style harassment of radicals, whether or not they are directly in

the pay of the FBI or other cops. An important question we need to keep in mind is, "Who benefits from the creation of climates of intimidation in radical milieux?" And those producing the death threats should contemplate the fact that they may be making themselves indistinguishable from agent provocateurs, even if that is not their actual intention. -Jason]

Nature's gift

All humans need/want sexual stimulation in every stage of life. Our sexualism/sexuality lays dormant from babyhood—childhood—early adolescence. It is not absent, but merely asleep. Sex is not created, it just comes to life. Genitals exist thusly in all periods of life, these are working parts, readily usable parts of all human bodies.

To deny these facts of our natural bodies is to deny the existence of life on earth. Sex is not a complex action, something needing years of learning/creating. Sexualism in each of us is the most simple feeling we have all throughout our lives, from day one and on. All humans in all periods of their lives find/know that sex is the easiest derived pleasure one accomplishes by natural instinctive stimulation for the specific purpose of arousal. In the young, the genitals are by all means more than water-releasing machinery. To deprive anyone of his/her sexualism/sexuality at any age period in life is going against Mother Nature, God him/herself.

To say no to others who wish to awaken from the sleep, sexuality lays in in the young, is to design the very purpose that our bodies' genitals were created solely for, that is Sex. Sex is natural throughout our lives, all should be allowed to enjoy of it. Give it, awaken it gently.

Steven Meschino N84986

Jacksonville Corr. Center

RR 4, Box 28C

Jacksonville, IL. 62650-9347

The bottom line

Hey *Anarchy*,

Thank you for printing my letter concerning homeless food serving in the Winter issue. Af-

ter the homeless garden was established and FNB looked more permanent in Santa Cruz, I returned to Berkeley and did more FNB food serving in People's Park. This brought me "full circle," since People's Park is where I started doing this in April of 1991 (before going to NYC, LA, Santa Cruz & back to SF/Berkeley). My three years of homeless activist work has been rewarding in many, many ways. After years of collective living in San Francisco, I needed to leave the theoretical behind and live the bottom line of existence with others. The SF living/food collective experience teaches a lot, but life in houses of hospitality, shelters, squats, and outside, spiritually "cuts to the quick" and brings truth to one's face in a hurry.

Last August I jumped on a Greyhound bus and returned to the East Coast. After a short visit to cook at the Center for Creative Nonviolence soup kitchen, do the Mall several times, see the holocaust museum, and experience the neighborhood of 10th and M, I continued to the lower east side. Since I'd been there working in a soup kitchen before, I was welcome in the squats & lived at three of them. Primarily I helped build barricades to keep the eviction cops out. Also networked some of the squatters with food/clothing/whatever service groups I knew. Read a lot of my writing, got recorded doing a poetry read at ABC NO RIO punk space, and otherwise enjoyed the increasingly difficult, increasingly bankrupt, increasingly spiritually depraved, increasingly expensive, increasingly tarnished peeling varnish homeless won't vanish squatters ain't movin' to create gentrified boxes for the immigrant "hispanic"; New York, New York!!

Okay, then I went off to Virginia for a little piece and quiet to meditate and write, and ended up dodging the local sheriff and getting into an immense disagreement with the administration of the Yogaville Community, in the midst of confusion there as the New Age went totally bananas. At the height of the craziness, I in-

formed them politely that whereas I am already enlightened, and wouldn't write much in an environment so completely off the wall, that I would leave. And did.

Enjoyed the seasonal holidays at my retired dad's apartment in Detroit, then went to Kerrville, Texas to see the rest of the family. After the last glass of champagne, I climbed on board the grey dog again and am in Ukiah (as a member of our extended family, formerly called the Motley Collective in the mid-70s-80s San Francisco). There was *almost* peace and quiet. One of the high school students wore a red bandanna to school in support of the revolution in Chiapas. He got suspended (bandannas being against the dress code), and the ensuing brouhaha over this was amazing. He became an overnight news item (first amendment issue), and was featured by the local/state media. Even *Newsweek* telephoned. [...]

One thing I noticed a lot the past three years is how many individuals and groups are saying "now what?" in terms of the revolution of everyday life. Where do we go from here? What do you want to do? Mon-

ey?!? I'd like to work with an anarchist performance art group, writing, spontaneously street theatering, and *let's get into the movies!* I'd like to let the world know on a much larger scale that there is an alternative, that is being lived by others, to the "prisoner of life" catastrophe on planet Earth. [...]

For the harmonious association of free individuals,

C.S., Ukiah, CA.

Poetic rage

What poetic rage, what repressed anger stirs in these stomachs, influxed in subtle causes of mired uncertainty? Anger so ragged, anger so deep, that only the loneliest sojourn of that winter path might seek it.

Once I impose, and or enforce a limit, I become no more than a tyrant.

Can I climb out beyond the green summit? or must I simply capitulate?

As children of a very repressed and largely chemically indolent society, children at a tender age, it too becomes too easy to settle into the illusion, the fantasy of this bureaucratic

security, chemicals, rhetoric, raised by those lawmakers and puppeteers, governors of Einstein's inclement and "Odious Militia." But, when and if we wake, we're only to find that even the shadows of our (truly?) elected and democratic oligarchy conceal a hideous fascist. Regardless of the party.

My vote has always felt so worthless, temporally like an anachronism. No place suitable left on this planet. Perhaps a tower window....

So like the unhappy puppet who cannot break free and his fight has only knotted his web, I must become my own hangman, choking the spirit of my unacceptable world right out of me.

What were the names of those torches who light the steps of bureaucratic halls? In wanton desire, have I forgotten? Their names? it does not matter; I have never forgotten their torches.

While there would always appear to be three sides to each argument, between right and wrong, good and bad, black and white, I do not intend to stand any longer tepid in the center; but rather, I'll stand on fire and fight for this uncertainty, this

fallacy of nothing which exists in the middle, and in so many words.

The bellowing rage, maybe, but no more quiet discontent from this lowly prisoner of economic insecurity.

newly reborn dissident planning in the desert...

Anon. for autonomy
Kingsman, AZ.

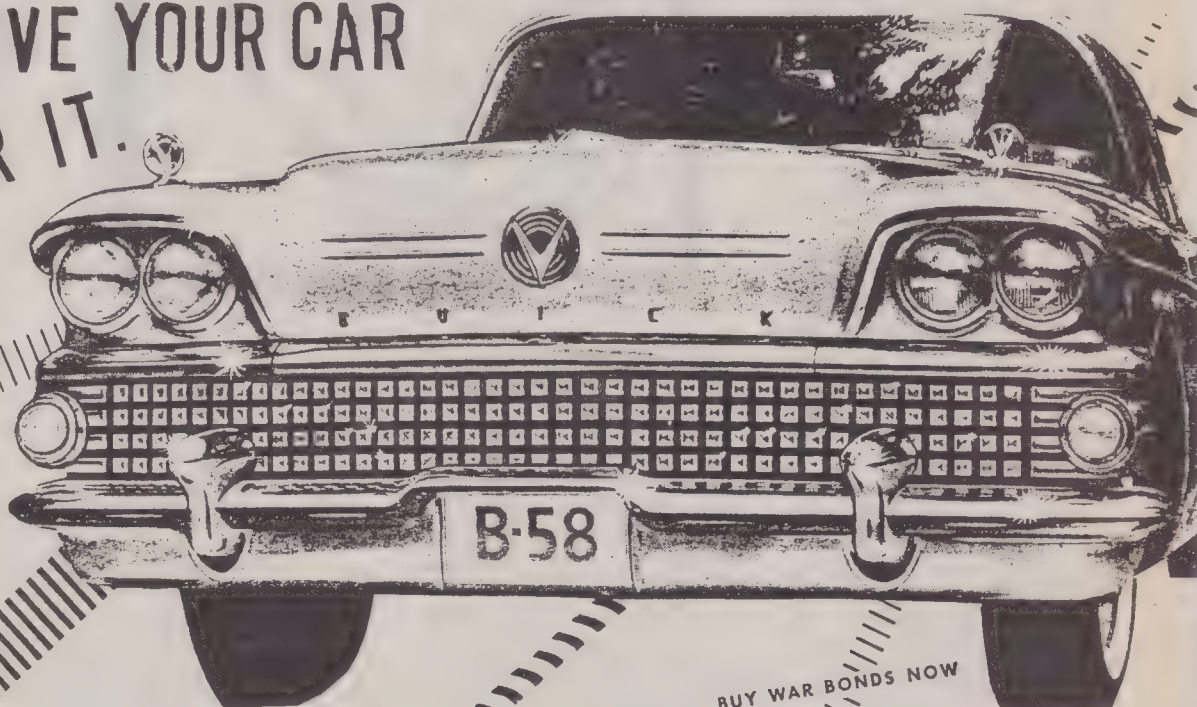
PS: Like-minded respondents encouraged....

Technological invasion

Dear *Anarchy*,

John Zerzan's article on time (#39) was fascinating; he seems, however, to be suggesting that we just take the whole thing and throw it out the window. Many anarchists seem to have the same sentiments towards technology. I think this is, in both cases, a mistake—it's like throwing the baby out with the bath water. Technology and time (and add logic to the list while you're at it) are only tools. The problem is not that they are inherently evil but that we've come to let them dominate us. We allow technology to invade every little aspect of our life, wreaking hell with the natural environment and uglifying

IF YOU LOVE YOUR CAR DIE FOR IT.



Collage by Winston Smith

the world by coating it with concrete so that technology comes to be one of the major factors of our life, dominating it and constraining the terms which we think in a way that can only be called sick. This is not, however, bound to happen simply because we have advanced technology. We've let time and our exact measuring of it come to constrain our lives in the same way, down to an exact schedule so we have to do *everything* (eat, sleep, etc.) at a particular time, not whenever we feel like it. We've also let logic come to dominate our thinking so much that we assume that it's some sort of law of nature, when there are plenty of things that fall out of the domains of logic (life for example, also sentences like "This sentence is a lie" and "There are no absolutes" which either make no logical sense or are logically self-contradictory show the inherent limits of logic). What we have to do is not completely get rid of technology (hell, chimps have technology—any purposeful physical tool-making is technology, albeit "primitive" technology perhaps), time and logic, but push them back so they no longer dominate our lives and thinking and we use these tools only when appropriate. I think this invasion into every aspect of our lives of technology particularly is responsible for the popularity of Frankenstein and variations thereof in modern culture—Frankenstein does not represent a fear of what might happen if our technology somehow escapes our control—it's a subconscious recognition in popular culture that it *has*. What we need to do is stop letting what are supposed to be our tools control us and take back control of them—use them where it's proper and sensible and leave them out where it's not.

I personally think world-wide anarchy and peace won't even be possible without modern technology. A solidly integrated worldwide network of communications must exist between various autonomous communities (I can't see consensus working as a decision-making process beyond the scale of a small, localized

community), otherwise each community will slowly develop a separate culture and lose contact with the rest of the world; the result, when the different communities come back into contact could well be war. Also, I believe modern information storage technologies to be so important so people in the future will have an accurate understanding of what happened in the past and won't be tempted to repeat the idiotic mistakes of their ancestors

principle—one that all intelligent beings have the right to be unconditionally free. And both community and an individual have to have some sort of standards to continue functioning; you can't just go making up the rules as you go along. Furthermore an individual's standards are generally derived from those of his surrounding community (this is true even of anarchism). People don't just exist in the current moment—they have to have some basis on which to

selfish are screwed up and the truly evil are by definition insane; they are also miserable, even if they don't realize it. Humans are incapable of being happy without being altruistic (although altruism doesn't guarantee happiness). Humans are social creatures (in case you hadn't noticed), and in order to be happy must be connected with others. Altruism shows a concern with and therefore a connection with others. Those who are selfish or genuinely evil are disconnected from others—their focus is on themselves, turned inward, and they aren't truly aware of or connected to others. So there's no way they can be happy. I won't bother elaborating the argument anymore (I could) because either you realize this in your gut or you don't.

peace, love, and anarchy,
M.W., Middletown, CT.

Desires for violence

Dear Abby—er, no, I mean, Dear *Anarchy*,

I am looking at the cover of a recent *Anarchy* magazine. What does your cover blurb "the Liberation of Desire" suggest? It would seem to be related to the vision mentioned in your subscription-form blurb: "spontaneous and wild—a liberatory vision free from the constraints of our own human self-domestication." Implicit here is the notion that Desire has been tamed, constrained, or caged, and that the de-taming, de-constraining, the releasing of Desire is a goal worth striving for, a goal not in conflict with your other cover-blurb slogan-phrases, "Mutual Aid, Voluntary Cooperation." In addition to releasing Desire, your cover suggests Desire should be "armed," again presumably without contradicting the goal of mutual and voluntary aid and cooperation.

The obvious objection to these ideas will be familiar to you: "if people did exactly what they wanted to do, there'd be anarchy!" And you're perhaps tempted to react "Yeah! Exactly!" But those who voice this kind of objection use "anarchy" to mean rioting, looting, murder, rape, drive-by shootings,

B o y f r i e n d .



Mr. Fish

("Hey, this government thing sounds like a cool idea!") through lack of understanding of what actually occurred.

While I'm writing, I'm also going to comment on the ideas expressed about morality, or the lack thereof, in issue #38. The idea of a world without morals (or ethics if you prefer—I think morality has acquired a negative connotation from its use by idiots like the "Moral Majority") is frankly absurd. Anarchism itself is derived from an ethical

make their decisions. In that issue also Dale Gowin and Feral Faun were arguing over whether humans are naturally good or not. I agree with Feral Faun that humans certainly are not born good—little children can be horrible—but I think as a child matures psychologically he or she normally becomes good. Those who do not become basically altruistic in my opinion are not psychologically mature, or, more importantly, psychologically healthy. The

marauding lynch-mobs with shotguns and lead pipes. Far from being the transcendence of state rule, most people use the word to refer to the imposition of brute rule. And despite the occasional glorification of violence in your magazine, I assume murder and rape don't fit in with mutual and voluntary aid and cooperation. Obviously, the word "anarchy" gets used in different ways. My point is that if you propose that the "liberation of desire" is a necessary component of any kind of society that anyone would actually want to live in, you have to deal with the fact that each of us at one time or another (some more than others), desires violence. Now, I agree, a plausible case can be made that the current Capitalist-Consumerism increases the potential for violence, because it accentuates the distinctions between rich and poor, because it functions largely at the level of a material mythology of desire, and because it generates infinite desire for finite objects. However, as any historian will tell you, violence was around long before the Enlightenment or the Industrial Revolution, before Walt Disney or Willy Loman. We must treat as a given those aspects of the human (animal) organism which we now label "desire."

If you seek to liberate and arm "desire," it suggests you are emphasizing the enabling aspects of desire: the close relation of desire to impetus, action, and satisfaction. (Hence the need for its empowerment.) Rather than emphasizing its close relation to greed, violence, and discontent. (Hence the need for its control.)

The crux of the Anarchist social critique should perhaps lie not in positing the Romantic image of Desire as the source of happiness (or aid and cooperation) in need of liberation and empowerment; nor in accepting the rejection of desire as an explosive source of violence and dissatisfaction; but rather in a decision about who controls desire. It would be naive to imagine that each individual has absolute determining control over her or his own

desire. Such a simplistic emphasis on individual willpower is the pitfall of the right wing. On the other hand, the idea that each individual is entirely determined by the cultural and material environment is to disempower the individual, to remove the onus of self-control, only to place it in the hands of some trans-individual entity, which in practice turns out to be the manipulators of a politico-commercial mythology.

Rather, I would suggest, a

individual. They need not be dramatic or macho. The liberation-through-mastery of desire while shopping, for example, would not consist of not consuming product X simply because it is delicious, although I think occasional control of desire by mere denial can be useful as an exercise. Instead, it would consist of subordinating your desire to another set of priorities, as decided by you. I think eating food that isn't saturated in chemical crap is a fine

stand the word) to the most everyday of activities will achieve more than throwing the proverbial bomb.

Well, here's my subscription check.

E.R., Santa Barbara, CA.

Jason comments:

Liberating desire

Since your arguments are directed at the slogans I penned for this magazine (they were actually expressed originally as graffiti before this publication began), I'd like to clarify their original meaning a bit.

We live in a brutally politicized world in which the power-vectors of enslavement are felt by each of us on every level of existence. Obviously, in such a world any attempts at conceptualizing genuine freedom, community and oneness (to use Stirner's phrase whose literal meaning is opposite from "alienated") will be constantly contested, obfuscated or suppressed by those in the thrall of alienated systems of power and social control.

Given this continual battle over the socio-political meaning and values of key concepts like anarchy and freedom, desire and community, it will always be in the interest of those who defend hierarchical social power to empty out any potentially subversive denotations and connotations—and replace them with acceptably tame simulations—in order to help prevent even the *thought* of real anarchy from becoming too widespread. Any discussion of key concepts needs to be undertaken with an awareness and understanding of this ongoing battle.

The "liberation of desire" is not just meant to be an empty slogan, any more than is a call for "freedom" during an insurrection. This society fetishizes a narrow conception of "desire" (for commodities) on one hand, while on the other it conveniently blames individual, undomesticated "desire" as being the source of the non-institutional violence it engenders. Capitalism has reduced fully human *desire*—conceived in supportive, nurturing and sensuous communities of relatively free beings—to the status of a two-sided caricature.

Primarily, desire has been re-

Girl Friend.



lack-of-being-governed-by-another ("anarchy") can best be achieved through a critical self-control of desire, a process I think of not in terms of a confessional or penitential inner conversion based on inherent sin, but in terms of a manipulation of environment (including the body). It is a matter of technique and strategy rather than essence and morality. The specifics of such a program of self-mastery vary according to the

subversive act. People quote Plato's "Know Thyself," but he also said "Take care of thyself," and in fact taking care of thyself is the precondition for knowing thyself. Admittedly, shopping seems a trivial arena for moving "towards a society based on mutual aid, voluntary cooperation and the liberation of desire," but the very banality of shopping indicates its importance: the sustainable application of anarchy (as we under-

duced to a relatively empty, abstract and meaningless expression of longing for fetishized commodities which by their nature can satisfy no deeply felt needs, and instead only deepen the vacuousness at the heart of each "consumer." But to call the contemporary addiction to commodity fetishism the expression of human "desire" is to degrade the notion of desire to the point where it has become almost meaningless itself. This is exactly similar to the reduction of the idea of human "freedom" to a characteristic of use of a commodity which can be purchased, for example a car. Just because at this moment "most people" think that freedom means having a car and being able to speed or throw beer cans on the road when they feel like it, this does not mean that we need to engage in a dialogue with these people over the meaning of freedom!

If this primary degradation of the concept of desire isn't enough to prevent its reclamation and use by rebels, then a secondary (and equally anti-social) conception is always trotted out in which desire becomes an expression of an inherent, ahistorical and asocial evil that is completely disconnected from any actually existing social, political and economic institutions! Capitalism and the state always refuse responsibility for their intrinsic mass violence, but there is no reason for radicals to buy into their strategies for self-defense. In this "capitalist-consumerist" society (as you put it), not just "the potential for violence" is increased, but the *actual level* of violence. This civilization was built on a mountain of conquered and murdered human beings, communities and ecosystems. And the murder is continuing each and every day in every corner of the globe—at the same time that each of us is constantly having our lives gutted and our relationships mutilated. Is there any point in accepting this social system's alibi for all the random violence it engenders—that it is merely the result of un-suppressed human evil, sin or undomesticated "desire"?

Our call for the liberation of desire is a call for personal reintegration. (Though I'm not talking about some sort of unitary, conscious *identity* when I speak of

such reintegration. Obviously, on the level of consciousness, the alienated longing for an abstract continuity of the linguistically constructed *ego-self* is mostly illusory.) We don't need more self-control in the sense of self-repression, but more *self-expression* in which we can re-establish a new, more direct and intensely felt connection between ourselves and our worlds—social and natural. Desire is one of the most potentially powerful ways to conceptualize this intense connection between self and world, including aspects of appetite, emotion and intellect all in one process. Rather than attempting to self-consciously set up one part of the "self" as an arbiter or controller of what the self as a whole must do, this is a call for self-regulation on a deeper level. I'll have much more to say on this subject in the near future.

Eating poison

Dear *Anarchy*,

In your issue #39, Keith Sorel takes some swipes at anarcho-syndicalists and the IWW, in his article concerning the ex-councilist, Steve Schwartz. Sorel somehow holds the IWW accountable for Schwartz's activities, because the San Francisco branch failed to expel him when Sorel showed up at a local meeting demanding it. Anyone in the least familiar with the IWW, would have hardly been surprised at the outcome. Expulsion proceedings are as popular as eating poison in the IWW, even when members are clearly violating its constitution, let alone a fuzzy situation where someone is calling for expulsion of someone else for their stupid political views. My own view is that Schwartz should not have been signed up in the IWW in the first place, nor should anyone be signed up who does not agree with the IWW's program. Wanting "somebody to talk to," Schwartz's alleged reason for joining, is not sufficient reason to be in the IWW. Unfortunately too many IWW delegates sign up anybody who will join, no questions asked.

On the other hand, why is the IWW obligated to settle the political disagreements of folks

like Sorel, who otherwise don't give a damn about the organization? Sure, it bothers me that political opportunists like Schwartz rip off the IWW, but then Sorel's attitude towards the IWW is just as opportunistic. Sorel wants to use it to denounce other people in the movement, and trash it at the same time. My only question is if Sorel thought the IWW was so useless as an organization, why even bother, since what difference would it make if an "opportunist" organization disassociates itself from another "opportunist"? There is a contradiction here, but I will leave it for Sorel to figure out.

Just as it isn't fair to saddle the IWW for the activities of someone like Schwartz, neither should all anarcho-syndicalists be accused of following Tom Wetzel. I have known Wetzel for 15 years and always considered him to be more of a marxist than an anarchist. In fact, Wetzel and his sympathizers have made a point of trying to recruit so-called "libertarian marxists" into their group, which probably explains how Sorel became associated with him. Wetzel's views on everything from the AFL-CIO unions (which he favors over the IWW), to "labor vouchers" (which he believes will somehow cure the inequalities of the economic system), are representative of only a minority in the anarcho-syndicalist movement.

Perhaps the only accurate assessment Sorel makes of either the IWW or the anarcho-syndicalist movements is that they are a pale reflection of their past selves. That's true as far as it goes, but the same can be said of anarchism, councilism, and situationism. None of these movements are what they once were. If one were to bet on a sure-fire winner in the coming century, based solely on what is happening right now, one would choose global capitalism, and align oneself accordingly (like Steve Schwartz). However, that would be forgetting not only what the continued domination of capitalism will mean for humanity and the environment, but that historical conditions change.

Working people will not always be as apathetic as they are now, especially as global wages and working conditions become reality. Mass upheavals and revolts are coming in the future, and it is out of them that new revolutionary movements will be born. It is my feeling that these will be likely to take an anarcho-syndicalist direction.

Jeff Stein, Champaign, IL.

Just a silly game

Dear *Anarchy*!

...I like most of your magazine. Some of it is way too middle-class and "theory over action" for me. You must understand there is a new generation gap going on. Rules that worked for my parents don't work for me, or for the disenfranchised army to which I belong. I suspect many of your polysyllabic theoreticians are closer to my parents' generation than mine. Parents! That's a laugh anyway—the bastards' are still living, one paralyzed in a welfare hospital, one living in squalor off of a dumb chick. Neither one cares for their five children.

When I am on the stand in the Olympics, I will have won not for them, but for *the masses* to which I belong. Also, I know the Olympics are just a silly game, only preparation for the *revolution*.

I love your motto "Arm Your Desires"! To me, "Desire Armed" is going out and *doing what you desire* w/o "permission" from parents, church, society, scoutmaster, etc. A sexier, deeper version of "Just Do It." It appeals to the basic human instinctive link between guns (arms) and sex (desire) also. "Weapon" is old English for "penis", and is the mandated term for our M-16s in the army. Funny as well as true. I, in my sport, literally arm myself, to achieve my desires. I might just put that motto on my match guns just to keep my European rivals guessing, and, because I am very queer, entice some of them.

Sincerely,
Trigger, Los Angeles, CA.

Anarchist jingle

They don't follow the
Constitution
They just practice hate
Injustice in all institutions
Oppression becomes fate
They're not there to find
solutions
Just to masturbate
Money-grubbing prostitution
America the Great
Putrescence, toxic & mental
pollution
Maybe it's already too late
No escape from persecution
The long arm of the CIA
contaminates
Have you come to the
conclusion
Sitting on your ass gives you
hemorrhoids & constipates?
Millions of people choose
revolution
Smash the fucking state.
Elliot, N. Merrick, NY.
PS: It's because Americans are
too vegetablized for leftist political
reform or Kropotkinite mutual aid
that Bakuninite destruction is the
only way to (possibly) prevent the
annihilation of all planetary life by
the US shadow government.

Dehumanizing fascists

Dear *Anarchy*,
Thanks for the back issues of
Anarchy. Extremely interesting
reading.
I'm ordering a subscription to
the *Alternative Press Review*...An
impressive job. Not to mention
a good idea—somebody basically
mainstream is more likely to
pick it up than a magazine entitled
Anarchy, and then maybe
the process of subverting them
can begin!
A few comments on some
things I've noticed in the brief
time I've been exposed to the
anarchist press. The letters this
magazine receives seem to contain
a damn lotta personal attacks.
This strikes me as rather
pointless. We're all in this together
against the system! If you don't like
somebody's ideas criticize their ideas,
not them. Chances are they're a
perfectly decent human being and a
dedicated anarchist. Their ideas of
anarchy and anarchism may just
differ slightly.

On the way cops, fascists, etc.
tend to be treated among anarchists.
There seems to be an awful lot of
dehumanizing of them (pigs, fascists
scum, etc.). This is the tactic normally
used by the state to brainwash people
into supporting a war against someone
or other! Why the hell are anarchists
copying the state? While I'm not saying
we should be nice to them, we need to
stop dehumanizing them so much and
recognize that they are in their own
ways victims of the system. I suspect
that some people turn to fascism and
not the radical left because the
mainstream press gives all its attention
to the radical right-wingers, never
radical left-wingers. (It makes one
wonder....) I also think that, while
certainly a lot of cops take the job for
the little power trips it can give them,
some cops go in with honestly good
intentions and just don't know any
better. But of course power corrupts.

A final comment on anarcho-
primitivism. While I don't agree with
it, it has a lot of good points. I'd also
say that anarcho-primitivists have a
distinct tendency to idealize "primitive"
peoples & view them in a way that
they never were. Like they forget that
the American Indians performed human
sacrifice and engaged in warfare, and
that the Bushmen engage in infanticide;
that sort of thing. Also, there had to
be something wrong with those societies
anyway, because they eventually
turned into hierarchical, authoritarian
ones. If they'd been so great they
wouldn't have. We can learn from them,
but imitating them outright is not a
good idea.

peace, love & anarchy
M.W., Middletown, CT.

Educate for compassion

Dear *Anarchy*,
I cannot believe the fascist
rabble I read in issue #39. This is the
first issue I've read. I'm referring to
the letter under "Pro-feminist prisoner."
The whole mentality of the letter is at
the level of capital punishment which is
a pretty low level.
I hate to tell Gregory that the idea
of people's environment

affecting their behavior isn't bullshit.
Of course you should behave in the
opposite way of your oppressors but the
majority of the population doesn't
consist of intellectuals. The way to
prevent acts like rape is educating
people to be compassionate. That's
really the bottom line. People aren't
taught their importance or much of
anything useful in their schools, until
they usually find useful material on
their own. The idea of handing out
justice, either personally or by a court,
belongs in the realm of anti-human
ideologies or all available types of
governments. I am sure that once we
are rid of authorities that oppress us,
whether it be police, psychiatrists, etc.,
then you will see sadism disappear.

But not by killing and sinking to
their level.

John Esfandiary,
Albuquerque, NM.

Discontinue my sub

Dear Mr./Mrs.,
I came upon your publication,
Anarchy, by accident while perusing
in a Charlotte, NC news/bookstore
and I found your unusual perspective
to be "interesting." I did enjoy some
of the humorous items (e.g. cartoons),
and a few of the letters & collages.
I became a subscriber as of last
Spring '93 and received a number of
back issues of *Anarchy* as well.

At this point, however, I find the
reading a little too "intellectual" and
there are several issues where I
disagree.

The Concept of Anarchy Itself:
I do not believe that a state of
anarchy is a good thing for a people
to live by...it cannot promote and
sustain values that I prefer in a
society such as peace, trade &
prosperity, and being secure in one's
person and property...just to name a
few...these things require some
sort of governing architecture to
maintain.

Also, even if a state of anarchy
were to be desirable, it is impossible.
Consider the following example:
-100 of the most ardent anarchists
are given 100 square miles of land
in which to reside totally unto
themselves without

hassle.

-On day 1 (or week 1) they might
rejoice (or party).

-But on day 2 an observer would
notice "groups" of partiers sort of
hanging together...perhaps the
strongest, best looking and most
personable individuals would "attract"
the most partiers.

-On day 3, I would wager an
observer would be able to identify
the formulation of social groups
and leaders within those groups.
-On day 4 (or week 4), I believe
some sort of governing architecture
would be in evidence...thus the
end of a short-lived state of
anarchy...it's a human thing.

In summary, a state of anarchy
is neither desirable nor possible...it
can only exist for a brief period of
time and probably only actually
occurred/occurs in transition between
wars & revolutions where the
governing side loses—and even in
this transition the pre-existing
social order would tend to be
maintained until the conquerors are
in power.

NAMBLA: This is a good example
of one governing law with which
I agree...and apparently your
publication does not. The age of
consent laws, to me, are necessary
to prevent mature individuals from
using their years of experience in
possible trickery and deceit from
preying upon youth. If some
individuals have a problem with the
age of consent in their state, let
them take that up with their
legislator. Whether you have
children or not, it is easy to
imagine how you would feel if the
child you were raising was
violated by any other mature
individual. *Anarchy's* support of
NAMBLA (e.g. accepting advertising)
is, to me, improper and potentially
damaging to some impressionable
readers. [Editor's note: *Anarchy*
sells no advertising now and
never has!]

Summary: I have found your
publication's viewpoints interesting
and some of the items humorous...
and I do support open & intelligent
discussions of social issues. I
encourage you to continue providing
an open forum, but I would also
ask you to re-evaluate your actual
support of some potentially damag-

ing concepts and organizations as I have discussed.

Finally, at this point, I am involved with more traditional philosophical views and would ask to be discontinued as a subscriber. Also, I ask that you not pass my name to any other publication or agent of literature as I believe your publication is representative of those views with which I was not previously familiar.

Thank you,
B.C., Currie, NC.

[To reformulate and reverse your summation: States are neither desirable nor stable. They can only exist for a brief period of time and probably only actually occur in transition between anarchic periods where the populace is conquered—and even in this transition the pre-existing social relationships would tend to be maintained whenever and wherever they aren't repressed, until the conquerors are driven from power. -J.M.]

Strong need for support

Dear Comrades,

Greetings in revolutionary struggle! Again I am writing to inform you that your publication has been denied by the prisoncrats, and I enclose a copy of their "hearing" results. Although I sincerely wish to receive *Anarchy*, at this time I must ask you to please re-direct my subscription to another prisoner who will be allowed to receive it. I cannot ask you to continue sending copies to me that I will never receive.

I will call upon you, and your readers to make their voices heard in outrage at this censorship, and my being persecuted for my anarchist beliefs. The state, ever so afraid of individual expression, has declared Anarchism as "Gang, or Unauthorized Organizational Activity," and I am now in disciplinary segregation, or solitary confinement, for having the symbol of Anarchy (@), drawings & instructions for incendiary devices (which were obtained from *approved* publications, and telling the warden, assistant warden, and Internal Affairs (Gestapo) chief to kiss my ass—fuck authority & everything you stand

for.

Perhaps not the smartest thing to do, but the oppression of my very limited, and very peaceful activities, as well as my reasonable requests to receive a *free* typewriter, were maddening.

As prisoners, political or otherwise, there is a strong need for support from outside sources. I have attempted to secure support from the Chicago ABC [Anarchist Black Cross]—but for whatever reasons they have been haphazard in their support. I attempted to request from them a letter writing campaign, directed at prison officials, in support of my being allowed to receive anarchist

literature, and recognition of Anarchism as a social struggle, not the chaotic, destructive ideas they entertain. Although hesitant to do so, I gratefully accepted the services of a local lawyer, through the ABC/WCF. But with four months having passed without word from them, despite my repeated letters, I cannot rely on a strong support network from that quarter. How am I to convince my fellow prisoners that ours is a just cause, firmly behind oppressed people no matter where they may be, when I can't even get a response to a letter? I have no illusions that there aren't many more projects that my friends in

Chicago are involved in because I know that they have many services that they provide to the community. I just need to know *where* (if anywhere) I can turn to for help.

By now, you should have received issues #2 & #4 of *Constipation*. I regret that I won't have the chance to see your review—but please *do* let me know your opinion of it. At this point, I am involved in the process of developing a new zine, collectively written by prisoners everywhere. So far, we are certain of contributions from Michigan, and Illinois, but could certainly use contributions from any interested prisoner. For



now, I am the sole voice of Anarchist philosophy—hopefully with your appeal there could be many more voices added to our plight.

If you by chance have a resource listing, or can help me contact a prisoner support group that can help me, please let me know.

Letters supporting Anarchist literature can be sent to:
Director Howard A. Peters III
1301 Concordia Court
POB 19277
Springfield, IL. 62794-9277

Prisoners, or other interested contributors to a prisoner zine should contact:

Billy Chill
POB 2065
Northlake, IL. 60164

May the fires in your hearts reduce the State to ashes—

Ronald Campbell #N-30537
POB 1900
Canton, IL. 61520

News missed

Anarchy,

...Yes, the new cover format is an improvement, but I bought or read or contributed to *Anarchy* in the past because of content, not style.

In reading both recent issues it seemed to me that much of the content was redundant, maybe even repeats of philosophical essays or repeats of theoretical questions. A couple of the letters were real info, and a couple of the collages were strong.

If you print an alternate press review separately, which sounds like a good idea, what will you do with that space. More letters more essays on control and ambience?

What I missed in both issues, is *news* of social and political activism nationally and internationally. Social struggles going on now that are not honestly or adequately covered by mainstream media. It doesn't matter to me if they are called socialist, communist, anarchist or what. Often people in any of these are overlapping elements of each and all.

Also I think in reality there are a whole range of things going on to manipulate control or change the circumstances of

our present and future that need to be explored, examined, exposed, defined, discussed, made public, questioned, in particular terms. Those who do not know or understand the particulars will be victimized.

I think you need to bring the content up to the level of the cover tech in both these areas, real resistance and struggle news, and real exposure of contemporary forms of oppression and victimization nationally and globally with an emphasis on US govt. military or corporate involvement. To wit modern slavery.

I think it is common among people who are taught that slavery is really peaches and cream, to think that slavery is sweet. Until others define that changing form and language of mod slavery and identify it on its own terms in its own language.

Almost every sector of systematic oppression and predation has generated its own codification and new words for obscuring as well as using its functions.

Sample subjects, issues:

Health care reform. Salvaging the elite medical and insurance institutions. When 70% of people polled know that only single payer will work and Equal National Health care is the only real solution. Fear of the word socialism keeps an elite welfare subsidy going for the middle and upper class while denying that "quality" for the poor.

The new pharmaceuticals—a new age social chemistry for control and...37 million on prescription psychoactives. ½ million children on Ritalin, another ½ million on similar "attention focussing" drugs.

Genetic engineering, gene therapy, DNA patenting, clones. What is it? Who defines it? Who owns it? Who gets it? What is the super race of the future? What are the military applications? Since the govt. (taxpaying people) are paying for most of it, why should it be an elite vehicle for profit and personal or social power? Many questions. Many new words.

Robotic military futures, new rules of war being produced by pentagon son. New scenarios, new targets, new alliances?

Changing shifting international powers. New nuke contenders before year 2000. Increased military sales competition globally. Growing nationalism, diminishing resources.

Electronic prisons, new high tech penal security compounds (Pelican Bay), ten new prisons budgeted in the crime bill. Police robotics and electronic technological tools. Electronic leashes. School monitors, video cameras being used on the streets in several cities. Routine photographing of juveniles who loiter. Fingerprinting of infants. DNA files being gathered on all imprisoned sex offenders. Felons? Political prisoners? Crime is genetic in origin? New justification for police to assault, falsely arrest, murder. Headlines, congress and polls crying for hundreds of thousands of new police.

Growing social economic polarities. Uses of electronics, computers and robotics in the workplace.

Changing international trade alliances and powers. What do NAFTA & GATT really result in for the majority of poor people on earth in the next twenty years?

What is the language and reality of all these "things" progress for anyone? For Anarchists? For the rich & powerful? For the earth? For the poor? For *wild life*?

M.S., St. Petersburg, FL.

Mundane reality

Anarchy

I've read your magazine several times and have purchased a few issues, though I don't think I'm ready to get a subscription yet. Not enough of the articles are understandable for me to want to make this magazine a regular source of information. I only did two years of college, and generally read historical texts with the occasional science fiction for entertainment. This I'm afraid is not up to the standards needed to fully comprehend many of your articles. It may be that I'm not educated enough to understand, but some of the writings in *Anarchy* seem to be written solely for those living in Ivory Towers where

only theory exists.

I and my family would very much like to decrease the external authorities affecting our lives and I feel that *Anarchy* could give us some good ideas. Please print more articles that are grounded in the mundane reality we live in.

Thank you for your time and attention.

Glenn Barfield
E31 Coulter Crk. Rd.
Belfair, WA. 98528

Dominance & submission

Dear Jason:

Today I received issue #39 of *Anarchy*. It is certainly one of the better publications available in Amerika today. If nothing else, it stimulates the intellect either with pro or con as nothing else does. (*MIM Notes* a possible second.)

There is one question I would like to ask the anarchist milieu. In all Nature, of which we humans are a part, and which brought us to this point in time on the planet, there is a system of dominance and submission which brings order (and survival) to at least all mammals, particularly primates, which we are.

This system is called by some "survival of the fittest" or "natural selection." It is evident in race horses, dogs, cats, birds, lions, tigers and all other creatures that come to mind.

How come it does not, in the thought of anarchists, apply to humans? In short, the smartest and strongest may not lord it over the group members. Any authoritarian attitudes are viewed by anarchists as a heinous crime. Why is it viewed thusly by anarchists when it is ingrained in Nature and in all of us humans it is a natural urge?

Anyone who fears the superiority of others must consider themselves inferior. I can't think of any other reason for this violent attitude by some. If someone can answer this question for me, I would appreciate it very much.

As to the lovely person, Monkey Boy of Detroit, MI., who suggests that someone might beat down my door and "bust

my jaw," let me assure him that there are Skinheads close by and I myself might well thrust my hunting knife into their gut. [...]

To Brian Gormley in his letter on page 74, I would like to say that all societies have been fucked since the naked ape began stalking the earth a few thousand years ago (Re: Desmond Morris, *The Naked Ape*, 1967).

To Gregory Waleski, page 72, let me hasten to assure him that, "Yes, Virginia, there are men feminists." To wit, men were admitted to NOW and the American Assoc. of University Women about 1986. I don't agree with that premise and it has proven disastrous to NOW at least. I haven't kept up with AAUW.

Further, after three or four years of reading anarchist literature, and corresponding with several at times, it is my opinion that the anarchist milieu in general is antagonistic, if not hostile, to women. I could document this in detail if I had not discarded a great deal of material when I moved in 1992. There are, of course, always exceptions to the rule.

If the anarchist world wants to change this situation, they will need some professional assistance in examining their psyches. I say this only because from time to time, someone brings up the subject of recruiting women—half-heartedly, I might add.

I would never suggest that all men's clubs *should* admit women.

So Happy New Year and may it be a joyous one for you!

Most sincerely,
Molly Gill, Editor,
The Rational Feminist
10615 - 117th Dr. N. #202
Largo, FL. 34643

ABC at a crossroads

As a result of a number of discussions we've had with the Nightcrawlers about the upcoming ABC [note: *Anarchist Black Cross is an international anarchist prisoner support organization*] Conference, Ojore, Kom'boa and I would like to offer a number of ideas which

we feel are vital to the forward movement of the Anarchist Black Cross in the United States. This is a crossroads time for ABC and these ideas can serve as stepping stones towards a budding prisoner-focussed movement.

Our first suggestion is for individual ABC groups to take whatever steps are necessary in order to gain cultural diversity. The anarchist "scene" as it currently exists is perceived of as an all white, middle class group of aspiring anarchists who have yet to understand the depth and seriousness of the revolutionary struggle that is ongoing in communities of color all over this

country. It is no wonder that anarchists are not seen as a movement. There are no programs which benefit the people, nor is there any economic base from which to organize. There doesn't even seem to be a unified understanding of what it takes to be a movement, let alone a unified goal for action. By either encouraging Afrikan input, or becoming part of Afrikan groups and movements this can be rectified.

The Anarchist Black Cross has a rich and proud history in Europe. The "crossroads" we spoke of before is the difference between choosing one road leading to a continued lack

of focus or the other leading towards credibility and a contribution to Anarchist Black Cross history.

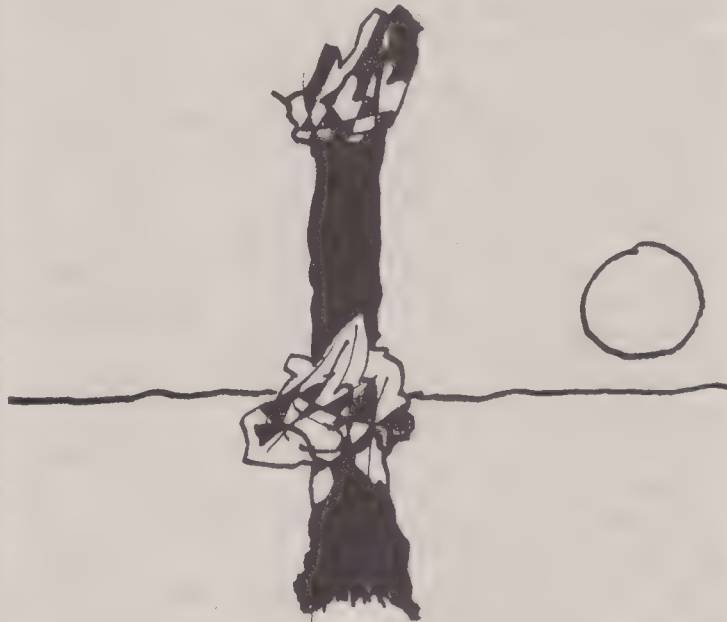
Along with cultural diversity, the ABC needs to formally commit to structured local and/or regional work. The return of Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin as a guiding force broadens the ABC potential immeasurably. His book *Anarchism and the Black Revolution* provides a remarkable structure from which to work. Those opposed to such structure are game playing with both anarchism and revolution. His "Draft Proposal for an ABC Network" has the support of prisoners all over the country. Adopting any or all of the fifteen points for local/regional work would provide the type of unification of effort that is currently needed to begin serious movement work.

There is one particular area in which we strongly suggest that the network of ABC groups focus. For those who have been either politically conscious prisoners or prisoner advocates, horror at the proliferation of isolation cages across the US is inescapable. They are called control units and have been developed to modify the thoughts and behavior of political dissidents. Efforts are currently underway to form a national network of monitoring groups across the country. It is hoped that prisoners living in control units will have an outside advocate in as many states as possible. The potential for an ABC contribution in this effort is enormous—and badly needed.

In July of 1992 Ojore received a letter of note from Jim Campbell. Jim's *Prison News Service* plays an important role in current prisoner struggles. Jim says "There is much I do not understand. Why do anarchists have such short attention spans? Is it a question of youth? Six months is considered to be a long term strategy and within two years many are on to something else. For me, we need to be able to think in terms of 20 and 30 years. That is where it takes some discipline." Ojore responded by saying it's because "these play anarchists are merely/were playing a government approved word game with anarchy and revolution" like the charlatans of Love and Rage are doing today.

For Ojore, for Kom'boa and for myself, struggle is a lifetime commitment of utmost seriousness. This commitment is a promise that one makes to themselves that nothing ever alters. If ABC wants to be more than just a name, a protracted commitment is required. There is little point in integrating into prison work if you are going to get bored in a year and then move on to something else.

It is time for the Anarchist



country—most particularly in that massive community of color that exists in the U.S. prison system. New Afrikan revolutionaries justifiably conclude that anarchists in the US have no idea of what real struggle entails on either side of the prison walls. In order for a movement to exist, there need to be programs designed to win the hearts and minds of people. A movement is organized rooted in the colonies of the dispossessed. A movement has an offensive and defensive fighting force and programs which teach by example—i.e. anarchist food and clothing distribution cen-

of focus or the other leading towards credibility and a contribution to Anarchist Black Cross history.

Along with cultural diversity, the ABC needs to formally commit to structured local and/or regional work. The return of Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin as a guiding force broadens the ABC potential immeasurably. His book *Anarchism and the Black Revolution* provides a remarkable structure from which to work. Those opposed to such structure are game playing with both anarchism and revolution. His "Draft Proposal for an ABC Network" has the

Black Cross to focus and unify. Gaining cultural diversity, using Kom'boa's 15 points of action, supporting control unit prisoners and dealing with the issue of protracted commitment are all directions imperative to consider at the upcoming ABC conference.

Bonnie Kerness
972 Broad Street, 6th floor
Newark, NJ. 07102

Ojore N. Lutalo
CN-861-59860
Trenton, NJ. 08625

Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin
2014 Citico Ave
Chattanooga, TN. 37404

Ball of confusion

I attended the January 14-16, 1994 federation meeting of Love and Rage RAF in New York. Before this meeting I had submitted a proposal criticizing L&R for having no Black members and for having no plan to racially diversify its membership. I also set forth proposals for reorganizing the newspaper out of the hands of the New York production group, a clique which dominates the organization, headed by Chris Day, the purported founder of L&R, and the person who still dominates the politics and the functioning of the group. This meeting told me much about the internal workings of the L&R federation, and why it is so intensely disliked on both personal and political grounds. It is a high-handed, arrogant organization, which reflects its leader's style.

The meeting was badly conducted, in a totally confused fashion, and this chaos is apparently how L&R has done things for over four years. [...]

Before the meeting, I had filed a detailed proposal with the group, which was never really discussed at length, except in the most emotional, non-political way by Chris Day, who apparently was threatened in some way by it. Maybe he felt it a threat to his power. He made personal attacks on the proposal as being "crazy," "a scheme" and other nonsense, and he accused persons who voted for the proposal as voting

"out of White guilt," and of "pandering" to me because I was a Black person. Implied in all this was that I was using "white guilt" to manipulate those in attendance to vote for the proposal. Which is both a lie and personally offensive to me. The more I think about it, the more enraged I become. More and more, it is becoming apparent to me that I simply cannot work with Day and his NYC clique, which is why I made my proposal in the first place. *I am renouncing any membership I have held in the group, I will work with members and ex-members on the basis that I always have, but I will not be a member.*

It is clear to me that the votes on these matters meant nothing because Day and the NYC clique will undermine the decisions of the group as they have always done. People complained that they keep voting on the same things year-after-year, but these things voted on are never enacted. It is my understanding that for several years people have made several resolutions for regionalizing the group at meetings, only to have them undone or never enacted by the NYC administration. Let me make it clear that I believe that Day is no proponent of regionalism at all; I believe he wants a party apparatus and this is why he wants to drop the ideals of anarchism entirely. I am firmly convinced of this, and this was strengthened after January's meeting.

Even though the membership at the meeting voted for an autonomous Black/PoC [*People of Color*] tendency inside Love and Rage, the reality is that there will not be one, because Day does not want *anything* autonomous inside L&R, and does not want any people of color in the group that can think for themselves. In other words, Blacks are fine, as long as they are quiet and stay in their place! I do not see that Love and Rage wants to be anything but a white organization, with at best token non-white membership. One of the more interesting arguments that Day made against my proposal to bring in more PoC members was that it was "colonialism" for

white radicals to recruit blacks into Love & Rage, *and I might agree*, if say white radicals "invaded" Harlem tomorrow. But I never said that in the proposal, I said the organization should make it possible for a PoC tendency to surface, beginning with a nucleus of a few organizers. These will have to be recruited to the group, and then they will organize their communities. Interesting, Day has been worrying me for several months to join the group, yet he forbids other members of Love & Rage to try to recruit other Blacks and people of color. This is nonsense, I felt very comfortable being the only Black face in that room. This group is just happy being white, and it makes rationalizations for it, *even trying to create an entire political program around it, based on the so-called "race traitor" concepts, but I think it is applying this in a perfidious way. They are not talking about allying with the Black movement at all, but building an all-white "independent" "Abolitionist" movement of people who somehow are no longer White because they have denounced their privileges. I guess if we took the examples of White rich kids in Love and Rage itself, we can see that this is a fraud. I ain't buying it, white radicals have never shown themselves to be any more of a concrete ally than those who oppose us.* Left to their own devices, white people will not be able to build an oppositional movement, so I think the attempt to do so is doomed to fail. I think this is just another way for white people to decide the terms of struggle, and to stay dominant in anti-racist and anti-fascist struggles.

I am also convinced that Love & Rage is not an anti-racist organization. Day's arguments against expanding the role of the so-called Anti-racist working group, as I had presented in my proposal, were very illuminating. He merely wants to rename the group as "Anti-fascist Working Group" as if this will magically change the policy differences that I opposed in my proposal and in my article "Vanguardism versus Vanguardism" which was print-

ed in *Love and Rage* newspaper. Again, people who look at fascism as just vanguard neo-Nazi movements or who feel that this is Germany and that German antifascist tactics are the only ones valid, don't have any theoretical understanding at all about the matter.

These people just want to mindlessly counter-demonstrate or to beat up Nazis. They don't have a clue how fascism develops as a stage of Capitalism: corporate restructuring, and how racism is a prime component of fascism. It is clear that a mass movement of the working class with the oppressed nationalities in the lead, is the only way to defeat fascism. Otherwise, we will continue with these arrogant, ineffective, "anti-racist" movements led by White Leftists (yes, this includes Love and Rage!) who think they have some "scientific" truth about race and class issues that no one else has. I detest this kind of paternalism and white supremacy the white Left is known for.

My proposal also covered newspaper operations, and called for a new way of producing it. I feel that as long as the operations of the newspaper remain in the hands of the New York Production Group, which is nothing but a Marxist-style Central Committee (who actually runs things), this group will not ever reform. Day and his crew in New York would define the politics of the group, no matter what anybody else thought. This is being proven to be true, more and more each day. It is my belief that this publication, especially the editorial side of things has to be decentralized, and persons in other regions should be allowed to produce copy for the paper, and that it should report more than Anarchist or movement "insider" news, but be a tool to organize people into the movement, instead of just for the "already converted" or so-called activists. No definitive vote on this matter was taken at this meeting, but again it is clear that nothing will be done than what is currently being done. [...]

It turns out that I was wrong about this group and its poten-

tial, and this determines my willingness to continue to work with it. This group has some internal political and personal problems which are killing it, more than anything Chris Day and the NYC clique. I also believe that the group has a long way to go before it will be able to win Black or other PoC workers to it. One good thing about all this is that I now know it would have been a serious mistake to try to build a non-white tendency within Love and Rage, and now I will work on building an autonomous Black movement and an anti-racist workers movement in the South. I will, of course, work with any member of Love and Rage or other Anarchists on joint projects, but I don't want to maintain my membership in this particular group.

I rescind my proposal for a PoC/Black Revolutionary Frac-tion within Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, and I renounce my membership in the organization.

Thank you.

Lorenzo Komboa Ervin,
Chattanooga, TN

Refuse & Resist! not a front group

Dear Anarchy,

This is in response to "Bashing Maoists? What Fun!!" I would be writing this directly to Neither East Nor West-NYC which is seeking submissions regarding "experiences with the RCP," but I doubt they would want mine since my experiences have not been negative. I am no Maoist nor a defender of RCP ideology, though I would most likely be on the top of NENW's list of anarchists who "con-sciously and shamefully collabo-rate often with the RCP." I have been an active member of Refuse & Resist! for four years, and I bear *no* shame for work-ing with any of the members of Refuse & Resist!, including those who support the Revolu-tionary Communist Party.

I was not recruited into Re-fuse & Resist!, and no one has ever attempted to recruit me into the RCP. It was watching the Louisiana state legislature deliberate over anti-abortion bills in 1989 and 1990 and Da-vid Duke gain wide popularity among Louisiana whites during

this 1989 senatorial campaign that eventually led me to Re-fuse & Resist! I had been so enraged that I was transformed from a pro-choice reformist to a totally crazed anti-New World Order radical. While a militant coalition quickly formed and mobilized in response to Duke in '89, it just as quickly dis-solved after his defeat. I strong-ly identified with anarchism, but couldn't find a collective or group that met my needs. I then read that people who had dis-rupted the Supreme Court after the passage of the anti-abortion Webster decision were from Re-fuse & Resist! I was desperate to connect with like-minded people, so I contacted Refuse & Resist!'s national office, re-ceived information, was espe-cially impressed with Refuse & Resist!'s founding "Statement" and, within days, joined. And, glad I am that I did. Rather than sinking further into hope-lessness and despair and with-drawing from political involve-ment altogether, I have contin-ued to be a committed, and very busy, activist.

Refuse & Resist! aims to draw people of all stripes, revo-

lutionaries and non-revolution-aries alike. Its membership includes people from Democr-at-ic Socialists of America, the Central America solidarity movement, queers, NOW mem-bers, middle-class suburbanites, and others. We unite in our recognition that all of the re-pressive clampdowns we have seen since Reagan have been part of an effort that "seeks a fundamentalist right-wing mor-ality imposed by a state as a vehicle to crush non-conformist behavior—political, social and cultural" (from Refuse & Resist!'s founding "Statement"). The purpose of Refuse & Resist! is to combat the New World Order through political (not military) exposure and challenge. On what to create as a society once the clampdowns are defeated, the membership of Refuse & Resist! is *not* united. That is not the function of Refuse & Resist!

Being a skeptic, I have always operated with my eyes open and one toe out of the water. I strongly and openly disagree with the RCP's ideology. The RCP's bizarre position on ho-mosexuality, which has come



under such heavy and justified scrutiny from within the Left, is but the tip of the iceberg. The RCP's glassy-eyed infatuation with the Cultural Revolution and the Shining Path, as well as their icons, Chairman Mao, Guzman and Bob, give me the willies. I am wary and critical whenever anyone adhering to an ideology fails to acknowledge its practical mistakes and flaws. The RCP's claims that it is the only "true" revolutionary system, that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is a "science" (which, I guess, is supposed to make it indisputable), to which all should and will adhere "after the revolution" and that all those who fail to do so will be subject to "re-education" is equally disturbing. Whenever I have asked the highly intelligent RCP supporters I know what the hell the RCP means by "re-education," I am told that such people will be "struggled" with. "Struggled with?" I ask, "Like the intellectuals who were locked in closets during the Cultural Revolution?" "No," I am told, "that's false propaganda. It was not that bad." Right.

Despite all of this, when dealing within the parameters of Refuse & Resist!, my experiences of working with RCP supporters have been overwhelmingly positive. We see eye-to-eye on the importance of fighting against the oppression of women, the criminalization of African American youth, censorship by the State or the Church, the scapegoating of dark-skinned immigrants, and (yes, it's true) attacks on queers, and agree that these attacks, as well as others, are coming down from the same place. In the several instances I have observed RCP supporters operate within coalitions, they have always behaved in a principled manner and have never been disruptive (unlike people from other organizations I would easily name, but won't in order to avoid succumbing to the sectarianism I detest). I have learned a tremendous amount from RCP supporters. Their analyses of issues (short of calling for a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolution), and those of former RCP and RCYB sup-

porters, are usually sharp.

Some Refuse & Resist! members who are also supporters of the RCP sometimes forget which hat they are wearing—selling the *Revolutionary Worker* during Refuse & Resist! meetings, selling Refuse & Resist!'s "Abortion on Demand..." tee-shirts and the *Revolutionary Worker* at the same time at clinic defenses, or wearing a "Mao More Than Ever!" tee-shirt while demonstrating under a Refuse & Resist! banner. Understandably, the general public would be confused and wary of this. This is a kink we need to work out from within Refuse & Resist!

There is plenty over which anarchists can disagree with the RCP. But NENW's inclusion of Refuse & Resist! in the list of "RCP front groups" and its deliberate indictment of those of us who choose to work with RCP supporters smacks of the very totalitarianism for which NENW condemns the RCP.

The Left should be able to challenge views from within while remaining intact. However, while the Right is tightly organized and able to function smoothly despite its internal squabbles, and while the world crumbles around us, there is too much *dis*-unity and unwillingness to work together within the Left for the Left to be able to pull off any overthrowing of anything. (What fun!!)

In the meantime, I work locally on building a community with the anarchists who I have finally found, writing for publications and organizing food coops, while at the same time working nationally with Refuse & Resist! (where my voice and opinions are heard as much as any RCP supporter's), in fighting the New World Order. The work I do with RCP supporters within Refuse & Resist! contributes as much to *my* vision of the future as it does to theirs.

Sincerely,
Susan Ferron
New Orleans, LA.

Looking for McKenna

Dear @ readers!

I lost a book, *Food of the Gods*, by Terrence McKenna

(Bantam Books, 1990) and have no other chance to find it if you don't help me.

What is worst, it belonged to my friend, who needs it to do his work (he writes articles and pamphlets on drugs). It's not available in Poland.

If you can help me (sell this book or exchange for something), please write to me with your address and phone number.

By the way, the book is really great. Terrence McKenna's theory is quite unusual and risky, but worth reading about!

Thanx!

Patyczak
Skrytko 20
60-966 Poznan 31
Poland

THX-1138

Dear *Anarchy* readers,

I have just finished watching THX-1138, which goes beyond any film I have ever seen in its nightmarish elaboration of the future. Aestheticizing the theme of what technology and alienation can eventually lead up to, particularly in the medium of film, opened up many, many new areas of understanding which I have hardly ever seen mentioned in the usual prose essays on the subject. To name a few: cowed rigidities in body motion stemming from stressed, mechanical movements...a certain feeble-mindedness attending a life free of volition and spontaneity...the emotionally deadening quality of blank surface after blank surface...the lack of conscience of automation which can lie as easily as it can tell the truth (you know those strange qualities and actions we emanate every time we try to lie—remnants of an inner life and direction which our modern revolutionaries are often the first to deny). There is much else, and I recommend the film highly to the interested.

Which leads me to a question/favor I have to ask *Anarchy* readers...Can anyone inform me of any books—fiction is fine—which give a fundamental understanding of where technology is heading? Suggestions for movies, or even art and music,

would be great as well. I have read some of the anti-tech literature which has sprung from this milieu, and with all due respect, find it rudimentary and even a little superficial. The point is not that Bhopal and Nagasaki weren't tragedies—even the scientists agree that they were, as they are paid overtime to create a "kinder, gentler" tech.

Have any real efforts been made, though, to attack science and technology at its strongest points? For instance, are there any cogent critiques of nanotechnology? I doubt if any of our primitivists will fail to be recouped by nanotech since, aside from Zerzan, their extolling of the primitive is in its use as a model, and not as an actual state. I stand to be corrected if my statements are amiss.

I think one major problem which we anti-tech folk have is that our understanding of it is too "dry": we may know the # of toxic waste dumps in New Jersey, but we never truly caught the spirit of technics in the way that any real sci-fi enthusiast has (for adventure, I went into the past with writers like Dumas, not into the future with sci-fi). This alone deadens our critique, and mostly limits our commentary to a recounting of disaster.

On any level, our understanding of technology is pathetically limited. What is technics?—From whence does it spring? What degrees of separation really exist between artificial intelligence, solar power, and coal mining? Which of the sci-fi nightmares—and there are myriads—are viable?

Again, I ask anyone with some insights on this topic to get in touch with me. I'll even read bad novels if the critique is deep and the conjectures imaginative, yet possible. I'd also be happy to share any input I get with others trying to increase their own understanding in this area.

One last thing I'll quickly mention is that THX-1138 was directed by George Lucas back in '71, before he went on to make the far more successful, pro-tech Star Wars and other trash. Perhaps this reveals some

axiom...I'm not too sure.

Thanks everyone. Be well.

John Filiss
45 Kingston Ave.
Port Jervis, NY. 12771

Request for radio news

To the folks at *Anarchy*, their readers and supporters,

One of the supporters of the Houston Anarchist Collective does the news on Houston's Pacifica radio station (KPFT 90.1 FM) and has requested that we send out a call for "Alternative" news, so he can air them on his show.

Therefore we are asking our Brothers & Sisters in the Underground News Service to send us Local, National & int'l news so we can get the word out. Liberate Radio—liberate the News.

For *Anarchy* in 1994,
E-T@c c/o Santiago Los Ricos
POB 981101
Houston, TX. 77098
ATTN: News Service

Third Way

Dear *Anarchy*,

I was recently passed a copy of your magazine by an unreformed socialist. He drew my attention to the letter in your Spring/Summer '94 issue from Oxford GA's.

May I confirm that I am indeed the Editor of *Third Way*. I was never in fact chair of the National Front although *Searchlight* magazine had a habit of saying that I was (which is where everyone else picks it up from I suppose). I did serve on its National Directorate however.

I have published reviews of *Alternative Green* partly because I am aware that a campaign is being run by GA to have it dropped from bookshops. I feel AG says something worthwhile on many issues although I do not like some of the assumptions regarding feminism. I do not believe that GA should be able to censor views it does not like. How this attempt fits in with their claim that they favor "personal autonomy" I do not know.

I do not use Green "fronts" to

push any agenda. As a lifelong vegetarian and pagan I am genuinely interested in green issues. As a political animal naturally I write about this and try to promote a more sustainable lifestyle. I do not see any contradiction between this and my other views—indeed I regard them as interlinked.

The only consequence of forwarding your address to our publication is that we send you a free sample and ask you to subscribe! It's only if you don't subscribe that we start to get heavy (this is a joke in case you are a member of GA).

Yours against narrow-minded "left" bigots,

Patrick Harrington
PO Box 1243
London SW7 3PB

Alabama prisoner

Anarchy!

The fascist rednecks got me! I'm a P.O.W. in Alabama doing some of "their" time. I've done two & a half & got one more till parole.

"They" just put me in lockdown seg. Seems "they" think me a security risk. "They" say I stay in violation of "their" rules. So I'm here till I leave. I can deal. [...] I got "their" arbitrary book & mag. ban lifted & can now receive *Anarchy* which was a prime concern, so if you can, send me a copy or subscription.

It all helps, & can show some people the anarchic views in print. I've only got one copy in two years & getting back will be great!

I could use someone to write here on the anarchic view, music, ect. [...]

Bobby Maner #154479
E.C.F., POB 10
Clio, AL. 36017

Freedom of press

Dear *Anarchy*,

I recently moved into a cell at the Wynne Unit administrative Segregation wing, and discovered a copy of your rag #34, Fall '92 issue, and as I began reading, immediately fell in love.

For this is the first zine I've

ever run across that really used its freedom of press to tell its views openly, with no double talking!

I'd be interested in meeting anarchists, & learning more about their goals & views. I do believe this is a movement I'd really like to be a part of. [...]

Respectfully,
Johnny C. Smith
#645042 Wynne Unit Seg
Huntsville, TX. 77349

Oh such heavy blows

Anarchy,

i think that the way in which n.s. Aristoff postulates his arguments in his first letter [p. 52, #40] is something that ought to be thought about much deeper than i think it has been. Such as, is "professional literature" part of what anarchists call "legitimate authority"? My trouble with such scientific research in this case is that it is ever-changing (progressing if you will) and, that it is seeking to find an answer, *the answer*, via realities in only one culture, utilizing accepted practices from only one mind-set—that of a biased western-centric reasoning. Perhaps also conclusions (or "truths") may be found in a severely limited fashion—such as respondents who allow themselves (or are allowed) to be heard.

If one applies even a small education (nonformal) in the ways of thinking significantly about orthodox beliefs, we can easily take apart "givens" like the *whole idea* of even using abstracts like age as constants for people, and replace it with ideas which bring *individuals* into the spotlight. n.s. argues for "the scientific literature" towards constructions like "age", and seeks to perhaps join the bandwagon of many who hypocritically "insist that they continually have the right to define for minors how their desires may be experienced and expressed" [see second letter p. 64 col. 1]. He himself takes up the oppressor's tools, i think, in "defining for minors" that *all* parent-child genuine intimacy and older-younger vaginal and anal intercourse is negative (at this point in the scientific enquiry) regard-

less of which culture/society, what circumstances, etc. etc.

Scientific processes can be useful in investigating potentials but i think that they have no business defining entire "truths"—which have a habit of being the basis for laws and mind-sets—if only because their methods are so limited. And i see that such styles of reasoning are forever being utilized by those who assume that they DO understand things "fully" upon those who are unprepared for their seizure of "Truth"; whether it be by "civilization" upon "primitive" ways of life, by the orthodoxly-educated upon the "illiterate", or of "adults" upon "children".

Now for a more broad-based pursuit of backs to itch: i see all over the letters' section views which are full of anarchist-type rhetoric but fraught with inconsistencies which prove something different. Perhaps this is to be expected by an explorer of anarchy when getting involved in a project which is trying (and to some extent succeeding, i think) to progress mind-sets amidst the cream of usa (pronounced ooze-ah) indoctrinations-not-yet-fully-understood. Many contributors strike "oh such heavy blows" via personal attack and name-calling utilizing their power of the moment, yet seem to fail to step back and see what may be going on here.

The biggest thing that catches my attention is that Jason McQuinn has probably been suffering from high stress and over-work, as well as the failure of fellow anarchists to realize that such might have a hand in his (pre-vacation?) high emotion. Maybe he didn't even realize what might be going on himself. The clues i see include editorial power swipes like name-calling, as well the spoken fears of cointelpro-type aggression and the only way to "protect" readers from it.

But, like all the rest of *Anarchy* contributors, Jason is just as prone to misjudgment and mistakes as anyone. What makes the "saving grace" is that people involved are able to reflect on such realities and progress—while working hard to remain open-minded to other views. If

We Have to Dismantle All This

The unprecedented reality of the present is one of enormous sorrow and cynicism, "a great tear in the human heart," as Richard Rodriguez put it. A time of ever-mounting everyday horrors, of which any newspaper is full, accompanies a spreading environmental apocalypse. Alienation and the more literal contaminants compete for the leading role in the deadly dialectic of life in divided, technology-ridden society. Cancer, unknown before civilization, now seems epidemic in a society increasingly barren and literally malignant.

Soon, apparently, everyone will be using drugs; prescription and illegal becoming a relatively unimportant distinction. Attention Deficit Disorder is one example of an oppressive effort to medicalize the rampant restlessness caused by a lifeworld ever more shriveled and unfulfilling. The ruling order will evidently go to any lengths to deny social reality; its techno-psychiatry views human suffering as chiefly biological in nature and genetic in origin.

New strains of disease, impervious to industrial medicine, begin to spread globally while fundamentalism (Christian, Judaic, Islamic) is also on the rise, a sign of deeply-felt misery and frustration. And here at home New Age spirituality (Adorno's "philosophy for dunces") and the countless varieties of "healing" therapies wear thin in their delusional pointlessness. To assert that we can be whole/enlightened/healed within the present madness amounts to endorsing the madness.

The gap between rich and poor is widening markedly in this land of the homeless and the imprisoned. Anger rises and massive denial, cornerstone of the system's survival, is now at least having a troubled sleep. A false world is beginning to get the amount of support it deserves: distrust of public institutions is almost total. But the social landscape seems frozen and the pain of youth is perhaps the greatest of all. It was recently announced (10/94) that the homicide rate among young men ages 15 to 19 more than doubled between 1985 and 1991.

Teen suicide is the response of a growing number who evidently cannot imagine maturity in such as place as this.

The overwhelmingly pervasive culture is a fast-food one, bereft of substance or promise. As Dick Hebdige aptly judged, "the postmodern

media. Attention-getting, easily-digested images and phrases distract one from the fact that this horror-show of domination is precisely held together by such entertaining, easily-digestible images and phrases. Even the grossest failures of society can be used to try to narcotize its

subjects, as with the case of violence, a source of endless diversion. We are titillated by the representation of what at the same time is threatening, suggesting that boredom is an even worse torment than fear.

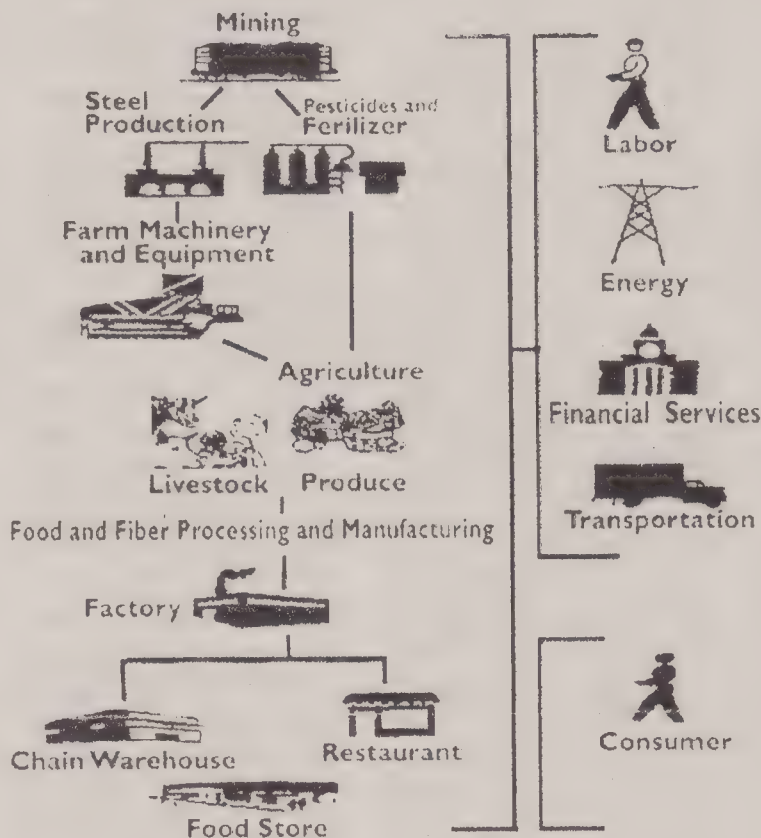
Nature, what is left of it, that is, serves as a bitter reminder of how deformed, non-sensual, and fraudulent is contemporary existence. The death of the natural world and the technological penetration of every sphere of life, what is left of it, proceed with an accelerating impetus. *Wired*, *Mondo 2000*, zippies, cyber-everything, virtual reality, Artificial Intelligence, on and on, up to and including Artificial Life, the ultimate postmodern science.

Meanwhile, however, our "post-industrial computerage has resulted in the fact that we are now *more than ever* 'appendages to the machine,' as the 19th century phrase had it. Bureau of Justice statistics (7/94), by the way, report that the increasingly computer-surveilled workplace is now the setting for nearly one million violent crimes per year, and that the number of murdered bosses has doubled in the past decade.

This hideous arrangement expects, in its arrogance that its victims will somehow remain content to vote, recycle, and pretend it will all be fine. To employ a line from Debord, "The spectator is simply supposed to know nothing and deserve nothing."

Civilization, technology, and a divided social order are the components of an indissoluble whole, a death-trip that is fundamentally hostile to qualitative difference. Our answer must be qualitative, not the quantitative, more-of-the-same palliatives that actually reinforce what we must end.

-Anti-Authoritarians Anonymous (POB 11331, Eugene, OR 97440).



is the modern without the hopes and dreams that made modernity bearable." Postmodernism advertises itself as pluralistic, tolerant, and non-dogmatic. In practice it is a superficial, fast-forward, deliberately confused, fragmented, media-obsessed, illiterate, fatalistic, uncritical excrement, indifferent to questions of origins, agency, history or causation. It questions nothing of importance and is the perfect expression of a setup that is stupid and dying and wants to take us with it.

Our postmodern epoch finds its bottom-line expression in consumerism and technology; which combine in the stupefying force of mass

anarchists were perfect, *Anarchy* wouldn't be as confoundedly interesting as it is—able to itch and irk the most certain of us. In the interests of cooperation and mutual aid, we genuine thinkers ought to go out of our way to turn knee-jerk reactions into thought-through responses.

My own thought-through response for Jason on the disruptions subject is that i think the only kind of real protection for the anarchist milieu is via anarchist principles like protection by enrichment. Why not reprint some stuff from Brian Glick's "*War at Home*"? Why not constantly work to educate people about this crucial challenge by beginning a place which appears in each issue that alerts people? What's the *big deal*? i think the real challenge before us is whether or not we're going to keep giving provocateurs the power to "fuck with" us.

Maybe the *Anarchy* collective never suspected that it's project might go so far as to become a leading platform in testing anarchist principles. i hope that you will not be afraid to adapt your strategies when and if changes/progressions are needed.

i think that the cartoons you run by Donald Rooum and Ace Backwords are really hard-hitting against the provocateur and hysterical mind-set. These are creative and humorous responses that should be furthered. Another idea might be to point out the system of conditioning in which opponent dogmas emanate from. We may compare such reasoning in a non-attacking manner (which may build a bridge to those who may be simply stating an ignorant understanding) with the reasonings of widely-accepted irrationality. Or we can point out to such haters the same kinds of "truths" which are often used to hate them—like "all men are pigs", or "All American citizens are imperialist scum". i think we can prove ourselves by our ability to convince.

Now i'd like to respond to a bunch of letter writers: i think Max Anger is off the bull's-eye about "armchair revolutionaries" not solving problems. i think

they can help progress via vision and critical thought! To J.M. in Shingletown i'd like to ask if he ever thought about the controlling mind-set's use of matriarchist-seeming signals to keep the bewildered herd at bay? Isn't "the war of the sexes" as completely fabricated by those who can control the media (and such) as every other "war"—the war on drugs, Vietnam—and i bet even WWII. To D.M. of Stevenson, AL: on your tax \$ and Israel's bullying: which *Brave New World* Order-forcing government allows them? Could it be the usual puppeteer, uncle sam? *Caution! Caution!* Imperfect humans beginning to think! Then there's the guy who wants to compare KKK people with anarchist people. Hell, you can also compare normal people with people who torture other people for a living. The reality is that none of us are different from the other, it's just that some people go beyond fantasy or thought...i was irked by that KKK-defense and i think that's good—people need to think about *everything*. i know that i'm attracted to rethinking the idea of racism and how traditional dogmas about it (and many other "givens") have slipped through *Anarchy's* fingers so far.

Then there's Howlin' Mad Johann with his call for joining the dialogue on exploring the central issue of desire. i'd like to join in and ask why not acknowledge desire for both angles and allow them to proceed? Conditioned as the desire to munch "ding dongs" is in us via the spectacular achievements of media control, it has become part of us. We can continue to notice ways in which we've been conditioned, but if we try to stifle such desire we only end up wanting them more.

The idea is to move towards change. Why look at it as a black and white challenge? Maybe it's like Jason's sometime inability to play the perfect anarchist "non-ideology". The belief is about mutual aid and cooperation, but imperfect people cannot be perfect. i'm sure Jason would agree that he should have the freedom to be as subject to human imperfect-

ness as anyone else. So why not allow the liberation of desire to be just as open-minded—providing one can note their mistake-making. Maybe Johann would be more apt to not undertake a course of stifling his desires fully, but speaking about them so that others may think about a side they didn't originally. To me, "liberating desire" is about thinking on broad terms about its many facets and seeking to change whatever one is comfortable with changing—whether its just being an "armchair revolutionary", blocking one's lust for twinkies and opting to take on veganism, or doing confrontive street or covert action promoting one's views. What does "liberation" mean after all? i don't think it means torturing ourselves to remain on a diet we really cannot stand—that belief might be like the bible bumpkin who spans himself for having sinful sex-thoughts.

To B.S., the office worker, on going from apathy to courage: for me it seems to have been centered around being outraged that people trust illegitimate authority. i got lucky to begin "catching on" to parts of truth that coincide with my most honest self-thoughts and still have an up-bringing that allowed me to believe that i can do things even if only alone. The only thing is, i'm not sure i'm happy with limiting myself to the label of "anarchist"—so i refuse to wear that identity while i wade, swim, and play with its interesting concepts. About transition, i'd say you ought to go as far as you desire to while still being aware of the consequences of standing up for *any* marginalized view in the u.s.(fuckin')a. today—a place where f.b.i. cameras document even the people who attend simple anti-war rallies.

On the big holocaust controversy; i think that whole thing is pulling into view some real interesting inconsistencies which many of us have carefully not thought about before. Deconstructing the propaganda and strategies behind such events in history can help us strengthen our arguments for people to question things on

broad terms and as well aid us in spotting our own tendencies of imperfect certainties. As with the kkk thing above, i find it very hard to believe that "holocaust revisionists" have anything of value to contribute. So why am i so trusting of the "official" version in which i was taught via my heavily controlled education?...For those interested in the debate flourishing on other avenues, you might try "*Skeptical*", which is a journal put out by scholars, historians, and magicians (?) from Caltech. i like their words on even questioning their own certainties when it comes to searching for truth in science.

Chuck Dodson

User friendly??!

Letter to the editor,

Dear friends, my name is John McGee and I am the president of "The Young Libertarians of Maryland." We operate many clubs in the state including one on the University of Maryland campus. We are an educational/political action group which works to educate young people about libertarian ideas.

I just wanted to take the time to tell the readers some fun and interesting things they can do to help break down our government to a more user friendly size.

The first one involves the U.S. Post Office. If you ever have to mail a letter but can't afford a stamp here's a neat little trick that really works. Put your name and address in the center and the person you're sending it to in the top left corner then drop it in the mail box. The post office will figure that the person who dropped it in the box forgot to put a stamp on it and send it back to the person on the return address corner. Ha, ha. It works every time. Also remember when you are using stamps to always put them on upside down. This is the international secret code to promote anarchy.

My next suggestion has to do with finance. I suggest that everyone buy a safe first. Then take all of their money out of the bank and only pay cash for

things and if possible get paid in cash from your employer. If you have any money in the bank you're basically giving the government control over your life because they're able to take your money at will and arrange it so that it would be impossible for you to prove otherwise. Also whenever you write a check or charge something on a credit card the government can take that information to see what type of lifestyle you like and then turn around and use that information against you in government job hiring.

Well, that's it for my tips this time. But, if anyone would like to contact me to chat or gain information on how they can start a "Young Libertarians of Maryland" club at their Maryland area college, high school

or university. If you would like to have a copy of our pen-pal list you may write to me at P.O. Box 1644, Beltsville, MD 20705.

Thanks.
John McGee

Dreamland

Dear *Anarchy*,

Many (hopefully all) of you have heard of "area 51," also known as Dreamland. It's a military testing site on Groom Lake, Nevada. It's significantly grown since the '70s when Groom Lake itself was taken off all maps. I read an article about it in a stolen issue of *Popular Science*. I would like to know more about it as I am sure many others do. Here's some of what I know so far:

\$15 million a year in security;

attempting to gain more land for higher security; "lethal force" is authorized against anyone found at its boundaries; Russian satellites have obtained maps and pictures; strange aircraft have been reported by the "Groom Lake Watchers"; no nonmilitary personnel have gotten in and out of there alive; reported sightings of aliens by "Groom Lake Watchers"; not on any commercial map anywhere; bureaucrats swimming in red tape deny everything!

Fuck them all! Let's spread the info! If any ex-military officer or Groom Lake Watcher knows something, write to *Anarchy* or me. I wanna know, dammit!

Viva anarchy!

Kamikaze

5717 Harriet Ave. So.
Minneapolis, MN 55419

Baklava defunct

Hello,

This is a brief letter to let you know what's going on in Chicago, primarily with the Baklava Autonomist Collective. Basically, a little over a month ago (and after 3+ years of activity), Baklava decided to dissolve, for a variety of reasons pertaining mostly to internal group process. Suffice it to say that Baklava's time had come, and rather than keep going on trying to revive a dying project, we opted to break up the group. However, most of us were by no means ready to give up, and besides most of us being involved in developing the Autonomous Zone Infoshop many of us had new visions and projects we wished to pursue, so at the



Mark Neville

Letters

same time we dissolved Baklava two new, smaller, and more cohesive collectives have formed (possibly a third one as well). Many of the old Baklavites are involved, as well as quite a few new people. It is a refreshing (re)start, and we are looking forward to what these collectives will accomplish.

What this means in terms of Baklava, however, is that many of the projects undertaken by Baklava have ended or changed. Here's a quick reference to those separate projects and their fates:

Wind Chill Factor will no longer be put out. That is difficult for some of us, but we are looking forward to new things. One of the new collectives will be putting out a paper, but as it is a new group it will be new 'zine with a different name. Look for it later this year. As *WCF* had lots of subscribers that won't ever see it again, this new paper will likely take over the *WCF* mailing list as a starting point. If you have a sub and this is a problem for you, let us know, although it is unlikely we will have funds to reimburse people.

Unfortunately, we still have an incredible amount of unanswered mail that no one is particularly inspired to deal with now. So if we owe you mail, please be patient, we're trying to get it dealt with. For your info, we no longer have any back issues of *WCF*. Also, the *WCF* PO Box will be switching to something else soon. If you want to reach the new (unnamed) collectives, send mail c/o the A-Zone, 2045 W. Division, CHILL 60622. If you had a trade agreement with *WCF*, we'd appreciate you still sending stuff to the A-Zone as it goes into our 'zine archive there, and the new paper will be glad to continue trades as well).

Collective Chaos Records/Distribution: This project fell into chaos and died long before Baklava did. If you're looking for some of the literature we were distributing, you can probably get it from the A-Zone if you really need it.

Anarchist Black Cross Chicago: The people are still around, active, and interested, but at the

moment are too caught up in other projects to put enough effort into ABC lively. As soon as they do, you'll know.

Food Not Bombs Chicago: Died, restarted, and died again. A 3rd generation is unlikely, but people are still into free food, feeding people, and dumpstering so the spirit lives on.

That's it. We do not feel like this is a negative thing, because we are moving onto new, and we feel, more productive projects. Baklava and its "front groups" played a vital part in the growth of an anti-authoritarian community in Chicago, and now the time has come for new things. While this cycle of growth and dissolution and rebirth can be frustrating, we hope to develop more lasting counter-institutions with our present projects, of which the Autonomous Zone is just a beginning.

Thanks,
Baklava

Perspectives

Dear *Anarchy*,

We would like to put the record straight regarding the mention of our journal *Perspectives* in the letter from the Oxford GA's.

It would be nice if they had taken the trouble actually to look at a copy before despatching some garbled second-hand smear across the Atlantic. If they had, they would have seen that we specifically and prominently promote libertarian socialist and anarchist ideas—hardly the way we would go about attracting the "Conservative far right" if this was indeed our aim, as the Oxford GA's unbelievably suggest.

A central pillar of our approach from the very start (in 1990) has been to reject chauvinistic nationalism (in particular British nationalism) in favor of a more complex notion of overlapping circles of social and cultural identity.

Our position is that defence of cultural autonomies is a vital part of building a rooted resistance to the capitalist tyranny in its current globalist, consumerist, Coca-Colonialist

form. Humans need identities. Robot-slaves are happy to be identical.

While the Oxford GA's clearly do not agree with this approach and have the right to say so, it would surely be more interesting and productive if they argued the point and put forward their own ideas, rather than telling lies about people they disagree with.

Given the "thought police" approach to debate they appear to favor, however, I fear we must brace ourselves for the creation of that ultimate self-contradiction, an authoritarian Central Anarchist Committee, dedicated to the monitoring and discrediting of all arguments and individuals deemed suspect by its ruling clique in Oxford.

Long live freedom!

Yours,
Ian Woods
for the Collective
Transeuropa

BM-6682, London WC1N 3XX

Crypto-fascist drivél

Tad Kepley:

I hate to disillusion you, but I'm really not such a sensitive guy—especially not towards someone who hardly knows me yet feels compelled to launch gratuitous ad hominem attacks against me in a public forum. (You're wrong on some other counts too: I find *The Nation* and *The Guardian* quite boring, and, unlike you, my tastes in illegal drugs are confined to the herbal. It does, however, do my heart good to know that you find me scary.) Especially sickening is the use of my hippie name (which I *never* use in print) by somebody who I've met only on one brief occasion that I can recall. Gee, that Tad Kepley is really in the know! How pathetic that you don't have bigger targets than Bill Weinberg to go after to feed your apparently starved ego!

I hear you're returning to New York to attempt to continue to perpetrate that evil excuse for an anarchist zine in this city. On one hand, this is demoralizing: you will doubtless become yet another minor irritant in the local scene for us to contend with, joining Ramsey Clark and

John the Communist. On the other hand, I'm fairly confident that *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed* will finally meet a long-overdue demise in your able hands, and the anarchist milieu will at last be free of its self-important crypto-fascist drivél. Yippie!

Wishing you unmitigated disaster, I remain, despite you, asshole,

Bill Weinberg
NYC, NY

Tad responds: Leftist hysterics

"Scary"? "Creepy" is more like it.

I find it amusing that you accuse me of ad hominem attacks, yet consistently engage in them yourself. You mention that you and I have only "met on one brief occasion", thereby I should have no grounds to "attack" you, yet you've *never* met Jason McQuinn or any of the other individuals we've graciously allowed you to malign as "fascists" or worse in this "public forum". If close personal contact is a pre-requisite for "ad hominem" attacks; I've got you beat hands down—if it were a contest, which I gather you perceive it to be. How pathetic that you don't have bigger targets than *Anarchy* to go after to feed your apparently starved ego.

Since you can no longer maintain a pretense of effectiveness by cheerleading for the Sandinistas, boycotting Salvadoran coffee, or bible-thumping for any other of the single-issue causes you and your fellow left-liberal zombies espoused throughout the eighties, you've spent the last few years trying to make a name for yourself as an anti-authoritarian—unsuccessfully. Like all your recently disenfranchised ilk, you're learning the hard way that the hysterical heavy-handedness learned in countless party-leftist group encounter sessions doesn't work with anarchists—at least not *these*. I suggest that in the future, we might not be as patient. If you have something to say, write up and say it. If you expect us to continue to spend our time typing up and printing your pointless namecalling and strident tirades just so you can see your name in print in the milieu you've newly arrived in, you may come up dis-

appointed... Undoubtedly you would not allow us such liberties if our positions were reversed. You have stated repeatedly that you believe "distasteful" discussions should be suppressed, "fascist" letters censored or removed. Since our open-letters policy has continued to stand, you've confused lack of censorship with advocacy—just like any Christian or P.C. moralist, apparently afraid that *Anarchy's* readers can't distinguish, say, simple idiots from malicious reactionaries like you (I admit I'm having trouble) or make their own decisions. The objective of an anarchist publication is not necessarily to parrot repeatedly the hackneyed homilies of the politically correct (Duh, Nazis bad! We good!); instead we believe it is to foster debate and engender (heated, if necessary) discussion. For myself (all that counts), I know I don't like "fascist" ideology; ideology *period*. I don't have to remind myself (in public or in private) of that fact daily in order to strengthen my resolve or my position, just as I don't have to constantly eat liver and onions to remind myself that I don't like it. That's the function religious nuts and obsessive ideologues like yourself serve.

Finally, regarding our "demise," thanks for the encouragement. After all, this project was started because of people like you. Seemingly you have some confidence in the new collective's abilities; you did write the above letter expecting to see it in print... As long as we keep pissing moralists like you off we'll do our best to stave off "unmitigated disaster". Apparently we're doing something right.

Kicks boss butt?!

Dear *Anarchy*,

The one goal that unites all IWW members is to *abolish the wage system*. Doesn't *Anarchy* magazine want to abolish the wage system? If not, why not?

The only restriction to membership in the IWW is that no boss can be a member. We don't have ideological litmus tests. While my guess is that the majority of members are anarchists of one sort or another, many are apolitical and at least a few are socialists.

Where the IWW and *Anarchy* probably differ the most is in

the best method to abolish the wage system (and, along with that, capitalism, government and religious authorities). The IWW believes that wage-slaves must organize themselves to fight the bosses. Each individual wage slave, and group of wage-slaves that decides to work together, decides how they will fight their bosses. Some include in their practice the use of NRLB elections to gain legal recognition in their work-places. Others use direct action in the work place, as described in our "Fire Your Boss" pamphlet.

Many Wobblies have formed

ganda work; most of our funds are from voluntary contributions. To say we are gangsters because we collect dues would be like saying *Anarchy* is a gangster magazine because it has a cover price.

We're a fighting, revolutionary union. If you want to kick boss butt with like-minded people, get in touch with us.

Please print my address.

For a world without bosses,

Bill Meyers

P.O. Box 1581

Gualala, CA 95445

P.S. I always enjoy *Anarchy* magazine. But I don't always



themselves into co-ops in order to be rid of bosses before the revolution. Other Wobblies direct much of their activity to issue-oriented activities like gay liberation and feeding the homeless. And when it comes to liberating their desires, some Wobblies are in the forefront of that as well; many members have chosen to drop-out (of the wage system) rather than work as a slave.

We do collect dues, but the minimum dues to be an IWW member is \$3.00 per month. The dues don't cover the expenses of organizing and propa-

agree with it, and I don't expect anyone to always agree with me.

Stranger is enemy

Dear *Anarchy*:

First of all, I was very impressed with James Koehnline's genius-level art on the covers of issue #40/Spring-Summer '94. What zine in the country could come close?

Secondly, I greatly enjoyed Tad Kopley's very fine letter on pp. 97-98. It covered several subjects of interest to the @ milieu, but is primarily the story of a recovered junkie—always a

triumph. Kopley uses atrocious language well and is an upper level wordsmith.

To say a few words to A.H., no city: multiculturalism will *never* work because human beings just ain't made that way. Humans have an innate desire to live with their own race and culture, not strangers. In fact, in some places, possibly New Guinea, the word for stranger is "enemy".

Because they are closer to Nature than we urbazoids are, they are a better example of truth in anthropology. Unfortunately, due to political considerations of our oppressive government, multi has been forced upon us in this fake "democracy" where most of our Congresspersons are rented by Israel ("60 Minutes").

A.H. made a good case of analyzing a very weak point I used in a previous letter viz that both anarchists and White Nationalists (Why is it ok to be Black Nationalist but not White Nationalist?) abhor Big Government. It is true that the White Nationalist hostility to Big Government is that it isn't theirs at this time.

Now about the "fascists" who beat Rodney King: Stacy Koon and his police team used batons on King when he didn't stay down and kept getting up and coming at them. King was a convicted felon driving drunk the wrong way on a freeway, at 100 miles an hour and up on city streets, running stop signs, resisting arrest and generally endangering his fellow citizens, to say nothing of being the catalyst in the equally atrocious and far more serious beating of Reginald Denny, who was pulled from his truck and nearly killed by black rioters on the lame excuse of this incident with a PCP-doped King. Denny has forgiven his attackers but I haven't.

Further, the viewing public was never shown the entire tape but only that small segment that was played day and night for days and months, "ad infinitum." So spare me the sobbing over Rodney King. He has (wrongfully) gotten \$3 million out of L.A. and we will doubtless hear of him again with further crimes

Letters

against fellow citizens, either in drunk driving, physical force or domestic squabbles.

Multiculturalism has already destroyed the USA education system, health system, neighborhoods, and the privacy and self-determination of Caucasian citizens. Under this forced and phony "equality" of which no such thing will ever be, "multiculturalism" is the worst shit ever spread in this fair land (no pun intended).

So, to be strictly ladylike, fuck multiculturalism!

Molly Gill, Editor
The Rational Feminist
Largo, FL

Past the censors!

Dear *Anarchy*,

Let me begin by informing you that I received issue #40—my very first issue to make it past the censors! I'm not sure what to make of the situation. Not one publication has been confiscated in several months. Oh, I'm happy with the situation, I only wish I knew how long it will last.

I'd like to thank you for the favorable review of *Constipation* #2 & #4, and for printing my letter requesting contributions and penpals. Having such small things done offers encouragement in an otherwise discouraging environment.

I've had friends comment that my zine comes off as being "macho" and self-apologetic. This is most likely true, considering my isolation in an all-male atmosphere, and uncertainty in putting out my own zine for a year with no contributors to speak of.

In reading your letters section, I was quite angry to read all of the letters trouncing pedophiles. Although I myself was the victim of sexual abuse as a youth, I have no problem with two consenting persons doing whatever they please. To be offended by such activity is each persons right, but to attempt to outlaw or control anyone's private affairs is contradictory of anarchism. How does anyone presume to tell anyone else what they may or may not do, and consider themselves anarchists? I find their

attitudes offensive, yet would fight for their right to retain their beliefs. And no, critics-at-large, I am not in prison for any sex-related crime. I simply fail to understand your thinking.

Thank you, as always, for your support and encouragement. I hope to receive many more copies of *Anarchy*!

In Solidarity,
Ron Campbell (#N30537)
P.O. Box 112
Joliet, IL

Escape to New York

Dear Jason (or whoever):

As a long-time reader of *Anarchy*, I appreciate your "open-letter" policy, but recent wastes of space (my opinion) have prompted this missive.

Why do you feel obliged to print *each* letter from holocaust revisionists when they all seem to say *the very same things*? In *Anarchy* #40, I counted at least three or four letters which all had one point—that in 1990, the (state-run) Auschwitz museum "downgraded" the deaths from 4 million to 1.1 million.

Although I try not to get drawn into "debating" these revisionist assholes, I have only one question: why would anybody who reads *Anarchy* (presumably they read *Anarchy*) trust a government source? Especially a Polish government source?

I think certain debates in the letters section (e.g., child/adult sex) were fruitful to a point, but now issue after issue it's the same tired shit from the same few people. But I'm the first to acknowledge that I don't have any suggestions about what (if anything) you should do differently.

In any event, keep up the good work, and (I almost forgot!) *welcome to New York*.

Yours in struggle,
David Fleiss
New York, NY

Destroy letters

Dear *Anarchy*:

Please destroy my letter to *Anarchy* sent for the fall '94 issue. If it should be important to you to publish it, please omit

the sign-off, F. Multiculturalism!

Also, please destroy any and all letters to *Anarchy* that you may have on file from me. Many thanks for your kind attention to this request. I am having health problems and must retire for the second time.

I look forward to Tad's issue of the fall *Anarchy*.

Best wishes,
Molly Gill

No thanks, Adolf

To the Editor:

I've been an *Anarchy* reader for 3 years. I particularly enjoy this open forum. It provides a badly needed medium for the free interchange of information and ideas.

Recent letters concerning Holocaust revisionism have arrested my attention. The important lessons from the Holocaust are overlooked by the public and misapplied by those in power.

What's so important about the numbers game? If 6,000,000, 2,000,000, or 1,000,000 Jewish people were murdered, it's still a cataclysmic human tragedy, a monument to Ideology and State power. It should give all cause to mourn, to think sober thoughts.

What is objectionable about the orthodox Holocaust story is the myth that it was an aberration in human behavior, a detour in the forward march of human progress, that the Nazis were uniquely depraved, that there has never been a slaughter comparable in human history.

Most Nazis were very ordinary individuals, given the opportunity by political circumstances and State power to acquire underlings, titles, prestige, perquisites, wealth, the ability to make the world according to the heart's desire, and the means to crush all opposition.

Many, like Eichmann, lived extraordinarily ordinary lives until their capture years later. Nothing distinguished them from their neighbors, or ours. They were opportunists who went along to get along, who took every available legal opportunity for self-promotion.

They lived the American dream in different times and circumstances.

The Holocaust was business as usual. It didn't equal the extermination of Tasmanians in proportion. Every Tasmanian was murdered by 1876, 100% of them, exterminated like so much vermin.

It didn't equal the American conquest in time or scope. Entire populations were liquidated, down to the last human survivor, the others subjected to 500 years of cultural genocide. If 19th century Americans of "the only good Indian is a dead Indian" school possessed 20th century technology, there would be no Native American alive today.

The Holocaust horror was no greater than that inflicted upon African-Americans, kidnapped, dehumanized, enslaved, murdered, made aliens in a country not of their own choosing.

When Hitler was informed that a Jewish pogrom would be bad press, his answer was "Who remembers the Armenians?" Who remembers the Armenians? Who remembers the 7-10 million Ukrainians murdered in the '30s by Stalin, whose survivors are condemned by the politically correct for welcoming the German army as deliverers? Who remembers Gerald Ford eulogizing Mao-Tse-Tung, the murderer of 60,000,000 Chinese, as "one of the giants of our time"?

Genocide is civilization. The intrinsic logic and very nature of civilization is to destroy what it cannot control. Genocide is history repeated, events replayed in different times and places. State power is based on human sacrifice. Hierarchy is Holy. World War II was no crusade against Fascism, but a war between Fascist powers for control of the world. It was a falling out among thieves.

The successors of these Fascists tell us today what the lessons of the Holocaust are: 1). Support Israel with money and munitions, because we all ought to feel guilty, too guilty to judge the Israeli government by the same standards as other nations. 2). We must maintain a strong military, state apparatus, and

flag waving frenzy, never mind that the Cult of the Fuhrer and The Volk is the essence of Fascism. 3). We must follow-the-leader whenever He says that some mustachioed satrap half-way around the world is the new Hitler. No more appeasing tyrants who refuse to be fired. 4). We must put our brains on hold. The world is such a dangerous place, we need wiser heads to think for us, to protect "our" interests and defend "our" values.

I agree with the slogan "Never Again!" Let's learn the real lesson from the Holocaust, and every other act of genocide committed by statists to enrich themselves and consolidate their power over the rest of us. Let's decline to follow-the-leader. Just say "No!" to the Fuhrer.

Sincerely,
Daniel R. Schenck
St. Helens, Oregon

Sectarian vituperation

Yo! Would be urban pagans,
Greetings:

Hopefully these words find y'all in the very best of health and determined spirits...

Thanx 4 sending #40. Silly me, I was still writing 4 #39. Is a copy of #39 still available? If so please send it. I have been good 4 several days. Enclosed are two photocopies which you should take note and consider the future ramifications. Do consider that there is a technology and technocracy that is in the process of bringing online a system of "community policing" which will most certainly blur the actual distinction of institutionalization and illusions of "free" movement. You, most of @ll should regard this aspect most seriously since consistent with the logic it will be such as you (appear & allege) who will be prime candidates for what is referred to out here as "Wildlife Federation Status"—soon your very own computer chip. But hey, it's 4 your own good. And you'll thank 'em 4 it later, right—alright, safety first.

As 4 #40 and content therein, is it me or do you spend an ever increasing amount of time engaged in sectarian rivalries and vituperations pertaining 2

intellectual primacy and authority?

See, the problem I have with left-overs is that what they could and should have learned as a result of previous decades is that change is *the* motivation—although change is not always for the best or greatest good—but the change they actually desired is not any radical departure from the bonds of capitalitivity.

This of course speaks to the power of spectacle and commodity but even more to the fixations 4 sensory stimulation... On the other hand, it is probably an advantage that precludes the packaging of autonomy. Still, the word "anarchy" as it is occasionally employed is used to justify reaction and recourse realpolitik. Or worse, the kind of wreckers, anarcho-fans and cheerleaders of the recent punk/grunge genre/milieu.

But this in no way answers the question—certainly not the

futility of a revolutionary rat-race—regarding a rear echelon intelligentsia, and what it is that constitutes success. It appears that what it is, this seemingly unique philosophy, is a dilettantes desire unarmed.

Meanwhile, the tales of organization and actions for or against a "state" are interesting but are really of no consequence to the status quo. The real tragedy here is that by and large the addictions and fixatives which are yet your master have yet to be recognized and rehearsed...

Nevertheless, take care,

Onward (until it is done)

M Obiter dikt@

Repressa, CA

Inciting bloodlust

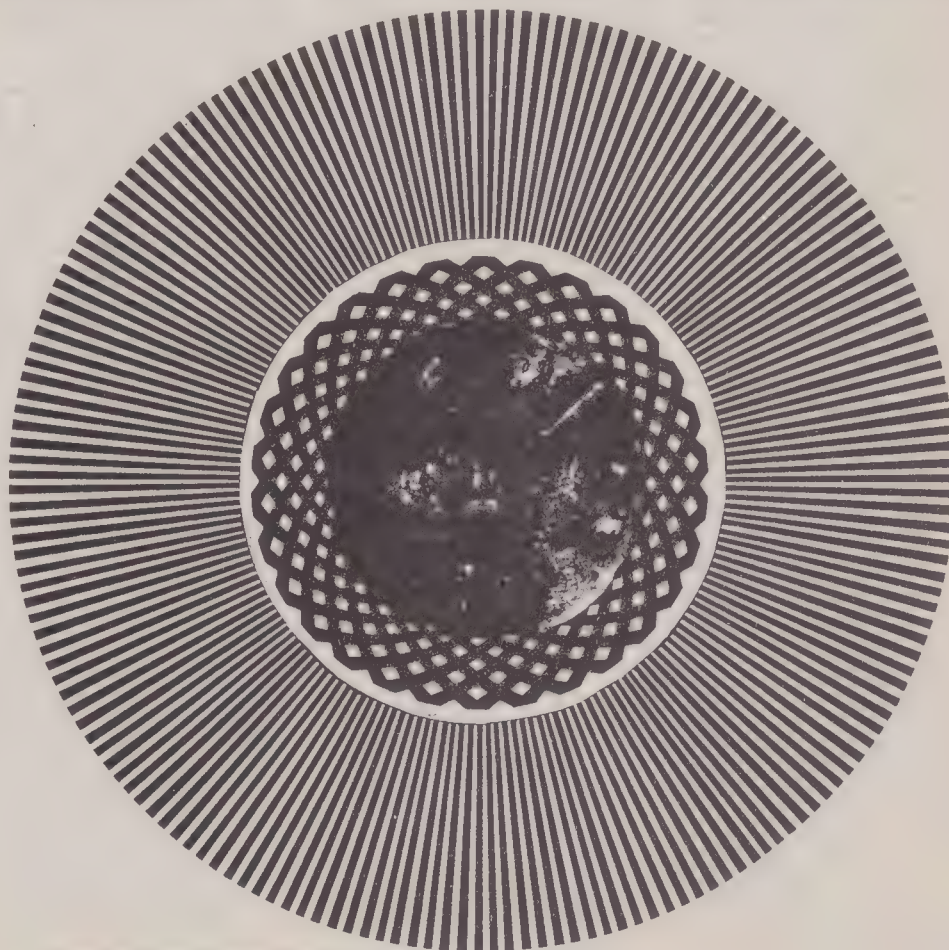
Dear Friends at *Anarchy*,

Your magazine continues to incite a bloodlust against those that would destroy us all. That seems to be what people need

to wake from this thralldom. Only, sadly, most love their chains. And shine them in hopes that their overseers will cast a look of acceptance, though the captors are actually quite amused at how easy it is to get the sheep to work for them so hard whilst being destroyed. Give a man enough rope and he'll hang himself? No. Rather, beat a man senseless and he'll clean his blood from your boots.

Well, I see it is subscription renewal time for me. As a forced troglodyte of over thirteen years, it is unique to find a publisher that will send free to prisoners. *Thank You.*

Your journal is always good. The controversial subjects get straight at truth instead of hype. That *Anarchy* shows true anarchy (no government) is not "chaos" and "confusion" (as so many dictionaries show) is a credit. Other anarchists do not seem to grasp their responsibility



Collage by Johann Humyn Being

Letters

ty. Then, who doesn't prefer fantasy over reality?

I know you'll continue in your good efforts.

In the realm,
David J. Kuns C-37714
P.O. Box 600 C-144
Tracy, Calif. 95378-0600
P.S. "A great-souled hero must transcend the slavish thinking of those around him."—Nietzsche
"Of the delights of this world man cares most for sexual intercourse, yet he left it out of his heaven."—Mark Twain

Fuck censorship

Dear Anarchy,

I am an inmate at the North Central Correctional Institution in Gardner, Massachusetts. I borrowed a copy of #40 Spring/Summer '94 off of a friend of mine. I like the idea of "fuck censorship" but I noticed that a lot of letters had to do with child-adult relationships, child rape, etc. etc. I'm personally against that sort of thing but at the same time I'm glad that there is a magazine that is open to discussion.

I've been an anarchist for 12 years. I've been involved with "direct action" quite a few times (about a dozen or so). Though that's not what I'm serving time for, if you're wondering. I'm doing an 8 to 10 year sentence for attempted murder, assault with a deadly weapon/knife, assault with a dangerous weapon/shod foot, and armed robbery. I have roughly 3 1/2 years in and 2 years left to do. But enough of that.

Anyway, my name is Tim Nishibori, I'm 25 years old, I'm into all old punk rock/hardcore bands like Dead Kennedys, Flipper, Angry Samoans, Black Flag just to name a few. I'm looking for people who will keep me updated musically and politically.

Also I'm wondering if I could get a free subscription to your magazine. I'm indigent because of my incarceration. Could you also print this in your next issue? Thanks.

Sincerely,

Tim Nishibori

P.S. You guys at *Anarchy* are doing a great job, keep up the good work. "Fuck Censorship"

Character hashishim

Dear Anarchs,

Luckily there was nothing substantive in the last issue to quibble over, freeing me up for the really important things: gossip, character assassination and self-promotion.

Bob McGlynn has a reputation as a party reptile. That is a half-truth.

It was in this same place a few years ago that I flagged, and slagged, McGlynn's *On Gogol Boulevard* hobbyhorse. It's not that promoting communication and cooperation between anarchists in North America and in the ex-Communist countries isn't important. The problem, then as now, is that McGlynn tried to monopolize and mediate those communications to aggrandize his own importance. He tried to turn Gogol Boulevard into a toll road. His Eastern contacts must have thought he was a respected and influential anarchist, rather than the opportunist, crypto-Marxist mama's boy we all know he is. And some of us in the West, especially newcomers to the "scene", financed his tourist jaunts to the East—his not-so-cheap holidays in other people's misery—because the project seemed so important.

The downfall of his fellow Marxists should have put paid to OGB. But, just as the March of Dimes overcame the crisis of success (the Salk vaccine) by moving on to birth defects (for which there will never be a magic bullet), McGlynn insisted that the new political space opened up in the East made OGB more important than ever. Like his good friends at *Processed World*, McGlynn may not be particularly bright, but he has a flair for salesmanship and sound business instincts. He sold Western anarchists the story that Eastern Europe was a vast new untapped market for their wares, the next Catalonia awaiting only the arrival of its Fanelli (guess who?). Of course this meant obfuscating the fact that most of the Eastern "anarchists" he's promoting are nationalists and/or liberals and/or left Marxists. But why should McGlynn care that they're not

anarchists? Neither is he. You did well to give him the boot. We'll never know what the prospects of real anarchy are in the East until McGlynn gets out of our light.

Speaking of assholes, Jon Bekken is acting out again. Last summer, he threatened to sue Autonomedia because the back cover of my book *Friendly Fire* contains, along with 11 other quotations, one by Bekken praising my stuff back before he lost his sense of humor. I strung him along for a few more months, encouraging him to bluster away—until the statute of limitations ran on his (entirely bogus) claim. Bekken was more than usually full of—himself—because (and this is hard to believe) this "fellow worker" secured an appointment as Assistant Professor of Communication Studies at Cortland State University (New York). To qualify, he signed an oath of allegiance to the state, which I procured through a freedom of information request and circulated to the amusement of many.

Recently he started up again, reviling Autonomedia as "capitalist parasites"! Now, there are many things to be said about, and against, Autonomedia, but capitalist it certainly is not. It is a collective of unpaid volunteers which ploughs all income back into more publishing. He threatened to exclude all reviews of Autonomedia books from his farflung media empire (*Libertarian Labor Review*, *Industrial Worker*, etc.) Until the embarrassing blurb is deleted. Of course, since these wheezy workerist rags never review Autonomedia stuff anyway, the threat is not too credible. I'd like some Wobbly to confirm that Comrade Bekken's mandate extends to blackballing anti-authoritarian publishers in pursuit of his personal feuds.

But if to be a "parasite" is not to work, it looks like Bekken might be a parasite himself. Cortland canned him! And I am told he does not have a teaching gig elsewhere. So it's Comrade ExProfessor Bekken now. Fortunately he, like most syndicalists, has rich parents (both successful San Diego

lawyers) to fall back upon. Parasites have their place after all.

Finally, there's Professor Ward Churchill, whose indian name—if he had one, and if he were an indian—should be Dances-With-Tax-Free-Foundations. Not since *Processed World* has anyone so openly contemptuous of anarchism gotten so many ticker-tape parades in anarchist publications. From the national socialist Canadian anarchist rags I expect no better, but whatever happened to the *Fifth Estate*? Have twenty years of day jobs and living in nuclear families taken their toll? Has the white self-hatred it is prudent to parade in Detroit blinded these middle-class middle-aged men to so blatant an ethno-imposter as Churchill? At least Louis Farrakhan is really black. Churchill has less indian ancestry than I do.

Of course, people who live in glass tipis shouldn't throw tomahawks. All those years the "primitivist" *FE* boasted of its old-fashioned printing press and disdain of modern technology, "E. B. Maple" was (and is) a radio DJ using technology rather more advanced than smoke signals. And why does this by now intricately intermarried clan persist in living in Detroit, the epitome of industrial urban ruin? I mean, I was born there myself, but I left and never looked back.

For my forthcoming Feral House book *Beneath the Underground* (yes, that was a plug) I decided at the last minute I really needed to put in something about this trickster Churchill. As time was short I decided to debunk the seemingly strongest piece in his book *Fantasies of the Master Race*, "It Did Happen Here," which dealt with the Sand Creek massacre of 1864. I figured I'd just identify some obvious fallacies and falsehoods and leave the larger job of exposé to another occasion. Instead, the refutation of just these ten pages swallowed me up. Churchill can scarcely write a single sentence without telling more lies than pages could correct. What was meant to be a quickie swelled into the longest piece in the book, and since finishing "Up Sand Creek

Without a Paddle", I've thought of much more it should've contained. I won't bother to submit it to any chickenshit anarchist publications.

Finally may I congratulate Tad Kepley on his ascension to editor *pro tem*. "Fuck it, it's only a magazine"—that's the spirit! *Salud* (*Gesundheit!*) to the Hudson Hayes Luce of anarchy. (Just kidding.)

Send money,
Bob Black
P.O. Box 3142
Albany, NY 12206

Rejuvenation

B.A.L.,

Yeah, I gotta rejuvenate my lapsed subscription, 'cause I love reading *Anarchy* and being involved in its on-going letters discussions... [...]

Cheers to Jason for realizing he needed to take a break from all his hard work. Better than burning out.

Hope Tad takes up at least half of *Anarchy*... maybe I'll contribute more stuff again—soon I'll be on the European planet, so I should be in higher creative spirits.

Bon Dia!
Chuck Dodson
c/o The Guide
POB 593

Boston, MA 02199

P.S. Why haven't I ever heard of people who are "stateless" (without passports) before speaking with a radical fugitive (who's now back)? Or, holding multiple citizenships. There's something realistic to delve into, especially in regards to how the U.S. may adopt that German law about policing transatlantic Americans who break U.S. laws in foreign nations... no jaywalking connoisseur will survive without saying fuck you to his/her original status... but it's a tough decision...

Blighted tundra

Dear Irreverent souls:

I am a prisoner at FNC Rochester, Minnesota where I was delighted to see a copy of your culturally blasphemous *Anarchy* magazine. A dear

friend, Steven Blumberg, who borrowed some 5 million dollars worth of rare books from libraries around the country was showing me a short piece on "Revolutionary Shoplifters" (*Anarchy* #40, Spring/Summer '94). I was quite pleased to have a few minutes to peruse that issue. I must say, the cover (front and back) was marvelous. [...]

Bless you for your spirit of disdain and social sarcasm. I feel I have found kindred souls.

If you have a subscription form, feel free to send one my way. At the moment I am leaning toward the "indigent" category, so I am unable to apply immediately. (The government pays a most generous \$.12 per hour to prisoners. What is the point? God only knows.) Anyway, I just wanted to say *thanks* for being there.

I do hope you have a distributor in Portland. If not, I would offer my services as a wholesale distributor—since I anticipate

here in my country. The fanzine was called *Voice Out*, and in its first issue it talked all about *Anarchy*. I wrote to you people, to kindly ask if you can further educate me about anarchy. If you have any fliers, memberships, papers to read just answer my letter. You see I really want to know more about this subject. I share sympathy with anarchists in my country. My country is under a "puppet government" dictated by the I.M.F. and the World Bank. It seems that they can't stand on their own. And what I hate most about the political officials here, what they care about is themselves. And you know in this so-called "democratic country" the only time a person is treated nice and fair is when he's dead. Here, if you're poor you're destined to die poor. If you're rich you're destined to become a lot richer. In short, survival of the fittest is the real score here. Just recently the government was bombed regarding the East Timor issue. Probably you know it by now since it is covered by international news, making this country a laughingstock. I hate it! I know something should be done. But first I want to see things in all angles, so I hope you people can help me out. Kindly answer back. Well, that's it. More power to your organization and hope you all succeed in your goals in life.

in struggle,
Edward S. Dimicali
c/o Jocson Junior College
1st Street
Balibago, Angeles City
2009 Philippines



Tonnie Haudze

I hope to be able to subscribe to your fine publication upon my release from the barbed-wire bughouse. I shall be leaving this blighted tundra and returning to Portland, Oregon soon. I must admit, aside from meeting a number of delightful souls who have been brutalized by this unconscionable neo-fascist nation, your magazine will be the only thing of value I have been exposed to during my months of incarceration.

spending a lot of time hoofing around downtown and/or drug infested neighborhoods.

Bleatingly yours,
Ed Praiseworthy #58632-065
PMB 4600
Rochester, MN 55903

First timer

Greetings!

It's my first time writing to this type of organization. I got your address in a local fanzine

Life plus sixty

Dear *Anarchy*,

I recently came across your ad in an issue of *Factsheet Five*. I'm serving a life sentence plus sixty years in Georgia for killing a police officer who was shaking me down for money and drugs. When he threatened my family I stopped him in the only way I've ever known, by stopping his heart. I'm a former Green Beret with over six years of special forces combat training in three different theaters of conflict, I know how well a government can oppress, and believe total

Letters

anarchy is the ultimate solution to this oppression. Please rush me a copy of your publication, and if I can be of any assistance to your organization please notify me. I'm at your service on the inside.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

W. Quint Rutland #317479
CCI 4600 Fulton Mill Road,
Macon, GA 31213

Irritation

Hi new collective,

Newly received Issue #40 (Spring/Summer 1994) is worth it just for the cover alone (thanks James Koehnline) so it as with more than a little irritation I read the Jura Collective's letter informing you that they would no longer stock *Anarchy* in their bookshop because "we...find the number of references to paedophilia offensive" ("Offensive References" pg 97).

After my blood pressure returned to something like normal I followed Jason's (?) suggestion and rang Jura to give them a piece of my mind. The @ community here in Australia is pretty small and so any action like that of Jura's creates ripples we feel even down here in Melbourne (Jura's @ bookshop is I think still one of only two in New South Wales—Australia's most populous state). Mind you, as I discovered at an anarchist sponsored public meeting last week here in Melbourne, I can't pretend there is universal condemnation of their action. At least one of our Australian @ zines has devoted a fair amount of space to this debate in the recent past and many (including myself) think that we could well give the subject of paedophilia's relationship to anarchism a bit of a rest for awhile. But Jura's solution to the problem is more than a little crude.

Anyway, when I rang the bookshop I was put through to (a surprised) Haron (he had yet to see issue #40 and hadn't even read the original letter). It turned out that Haron had been the Jura member who'd been responsible for the "research" which had resulted in the ban. Acting on a "feeling" of the

collective that the paedophilia debate was dominating the letters pages Haron was "commissioned" to make an in depth study of an issue (#38/ Fall '93 apparently and report back his findings. In short, Haron found that yes indeed there was an extraordinarily high number of references to the North American Man Boy Love Association (NAMBLA—Jura's bete noir), 17 in total (it seems "references" means number of times NAMBLA mentioned). This was sufficient for the collective to conclude that *Anarchy* had become merely NAMBLA's mouthpiece and propaganda arm.

Haron wasn't able to explain why Jura didn't simply (and less dramatically) write to you as so many anarchists and fellow travellers have done, stating their concerns. But he did explain that the Jura bookshop doesn't stock every magazine in the universe. "We don't sell *Women's Weekly* or the *Financial Times*... so why should we necessarily stock this magazine?" A good point I suppose, except that the two Australian periodicals he mentioned are mainstream in the extreme... not quite a fair comparison to a renowned international anarchist magazine which even goes so far to sport the "A" word in its title.

Okay so what about these 17 references? Well I have to admit that I could only find 16 references to NAMBLA in issue #38 but I'm prepared to admit that one might have slipped past me. What I found most interesting however was that the 16 references were contained in just two letters—10 in a letter by Joel Featherstone of Uncommon Desires ("Mindless Sexual Taboos") and 6 in a letter by Huey T. McLellan ("Opening Dialogue"). Accepting that these letters do constitute a defence of adult-child sexual relationships, nevertheless these letters containing the shocking acronym "NAMBLA" were but 2 of 45 letters received (a 3rd short letter by Shaun Perry doesn't refer to NAMBLA but can also be read as a defense of adult-child sexual relationships albeit with caveats). That's 3 out

of 45—less than 6 percent of the letters. In terms of length, of the 821 column inches of letters, 117 were devoted to these letters which failed to toe the party line on adult-child sex—about 14 percent of the space; again, hardly a domination of the letters section. Of course some might say that even about 1 page in 7 is too many, and I'm the first to admit that nowadays I tend to skim, even skip letters on the subject because I feel nothing new is being added to the debate. But Jura's standover tactics reflect badly on the collective and if as they suggest, that the "anarchist view" imposes on all anarchists "demands and responsibilities" then they themselves have fallen at the first hurdle. If an anti-authoritarian group act like this before the revolution just imagine what the authoritarian left would do after it!

Still, it seems only fair that, just as I feel Jura shouldn't make a mountain out of a molehill with this issue, then neither should I. So do us all a favor Jura, and reconsider.

In the meantime, good luck and thanks Jason. I hope the next guiding voice we hear through the letters pages of *Anarchy* is as strong, as clear and as fairminded.

regards all,
Steve Charman
Balwyn, Australia 3

Impervious to logic

To Whom It May Concern,

I am writing in reference to the "debate" on Holocaust revisionism that my response to Jason McQuinn's lukewarm condemnation of this brand of pseudo-scholarship has inadvertently opened up in *Anarchy*.

I will not attempt to answer the particular accusations of historical "falsification" brought up by several of your pro-Holocaust revisionism respondents; my experience of the creationism/evolution controversy has convinced me that this approach is a waste of time, primarily because the creationists, like the Holocaust deniers, are impervious to logic and reasoned argument and are not genuinely interested in the elu-

cidation of truth—they have other priorities.

For those with a genuine desire to learn about the Holocaust, much history has been written and there is literally tons of documentation of the facts. Although it is a worthless exercise to counter the Holocaust revisionists charges, I will, however, make a few comments about the revisionists themselves. As Pierre Vidal-Naquet (the foremost academic critic of the revisionist movement) has said: "One can and should enter into a discourse concerning [his emphasis] the 'revisionists'; one can analyze their texts as one might the anatomy of a lie; one can and should analyze their specific place in the configuration of ideologies, raise the question of why and in what manner they surfaced."

First of all, it appears more than coincidental that the pro-revisionists who wrote letters all mentioned some version of the same story that the number of Jews killed in Auschwitz and/or the Holocaust had been revised downward and that this was reflected in a change on a memorial at Auschwitz itself. They all claim, furthermore, that they are neither anti-Semites nor neo-Nazis and want nothing but that the "truth" be exposed. Sorry, but one doesn't have to be a conspiracy theorist to figure that we are dealing here with a small group of storm trooper wannabes who have been subscribing to the same shitty little newsletter, complete with revisionist "facts" and advice on how to present them to the "media."

The same tactics are used by fundie Christians advocating that creation "science" be taught in public schools. They have founded scientific sounding "institutes" and make it a point to never mention the Bible in any public debate; lest their true mission (the institution of a Christian theocracy) be discovered. Creationists and Holocaust revisers alike hold the same spurious conceits: they are both in battle against a monolithic and anti-democratic academic establishment (their ideas are rejected because they are unpopular and threatening to

mention the Bible in any public debate; lest their true mission (the institution of a Christian theocracy) be discovered. Creationists and Holocaust revisers alike hold the same spurious conceits: they are both in battle against a monolithic and anti-democratic academic establishment (their ideas are rejected because they are unpopular and threatening to the status-quo; not because they are transparently untrue); they are disinterested truthseekers with no a priori agenda (they are not anti-Semites or Biblical literalists); they are "scientists" and "historians"—not ignorant cranks (after all, they belong to "institutes" and "foundations" and have degrees; no matter that these organizations have no academic standing or affiliation, that their journals are not subject to peer review by specialists and that their degrees are almost invariably in unrelated fields). Other similarities are their shared penchant for falsely attributing statements and positions to the other side and then spilling lots of ink in "debunking" these "myths"; also they never, ever admit that any of their charges has been proven false. (Anyone interested in the sheer dogged insanity of this method is encouraged to log on to any of the many debates on creationism on the Internet or private BBS's like AOL. The oldest, phoniest/funniest, canard of the fundies is their claim that the Second Law of Thermodynamics (which covers entropy) proves that complex systems cannot evolve from simpler systems and thus evolution could not have taken place. Now, if this interpretation of the Second Law were correct, no one could have their rum on the rocks because ice cubes (whose crystalline structure is more complex than that of liquid water) could not

exist in this universe. Fortunately, this interpretation is false (the pina colada is saved for mankind) and literally zillions of bytes have been committed to cyberspace by articulate physicists and biologists to explain what the Law really says. No matter; entropy is paraded again and again by televangelists and creationists as "proof" that evolution is false.)

Faced with the energetic monomania of the creationist and revisionist, one is forced to ask why they bother. After all, the intricacies of evolutionary theory on the one hand and the minutiae of the Final Solution would seem to be of interest to very few specialists. Of course the obsession within these atavistic circles with the methodology of Holocaust studies and evolutionary science has nothing to do with any intrinsic controversy being generated by differences of interpretation of the available data. In the twisted mind of the creationist, evolution is the underpinning for "secular humanism" and consequently of all that is wrong with the world. In the same way, the neo-Nazi and anti-Semite "need" the Holocaust to be a hoax in order to justify their love of the Reich or their hatred of Jews and Israel. As Bill Weinberg has pointed out in these pages,

Zionists and other Jews have never been monolithic in their political orientation, nor in their idea of what the state of Israel should stand for: this was graphically evidenced this year by the successful transfer of part of the West Bank and Gaza to Palestinian rule—accomplished with the support of a majority of Israeli citizens. Similarly, the recent heated controversy over Spielberg's *Schindler's List* demonstrates that Jews hold conflicting views about the meaning and portrayal of the Holocaust. However, it does not suit Lyndon LaRouche, Louis Farrakhan, Noam Chomsky or Pat Buchanan to accept the heterogeneity of Jewish aspirations and opinions because this deprives these "thinkers" of a convenient reviled Evil with which to contend: they depend on "Zionist conspiracies," "Jewish media control" and "powerful foreign lobbies" to fuel their various forms of venom. Their racism is even more difficult to justify if the Jews have any claim to an historically monstrous (if not entirely unique) martyrdom; to accept that the world is guilty of the destruction of European Jewry is a truth that is not easily assimilated by the Manichean world-views of ideologues of the Left or Right.

I would like in closing to answer the comments made on my original remarks by D.M. of Stevenson, AL (*Anarchy* #40). The writer claims that I "compared the world-war between the Jews and the anti-Semites with the world-war between scientists and creationists." Aside from the fact that I have no idea what this utterance means, I would only like to comment that I was drawing a parallel between Holocaust revisionism and creation "science." for reasons that I elaborate above. Secondly D.M. claims to "remind me" that science and history are somehow fundamentally different endeavors because the first is "built on experimental appeal to the authority of nature" whereas the latter "gets written by the winners." I suggest that anyone with even slight exposure to modern philosophy of science would reject this claim as simplistic and, in the case of evolutionary science, totally inaccurate. Evolution is the history of the mechanisms and products of a unique historical event and, although experimentation can help elucidate the mechanisms involved, the bulk of scientific research into evolution consists of the same type of methods (and rules of evidence) that are used in historiography. This is

the reason why creationists and revisionists resort to the same sorts of attack. On a more basic level, all science and all history is made by people using culturally and historically dependent language; neither discipline has a greater claim to transhuman objectivity.

When making political and ethical decisions, we have a choice as to what historical or sociological evidence is most likely to be trustworthy, what we want to make of that evidence, and where we can best spend our limited time. I



Photo by Jason McQuinn

Letters

inbred cracker brownshirts. I prefer to pick 'em off at distance with a good scoped deer rifle.

Tad responds:

Leftist guilt-trip

Experience has led me to believe the grand majority of revisionist "scholars" are closet nazis, so apparently we agree on that. There's no doubt there were camps, there's no doubt there was an organized NSDAP/Nazi military extermination program. One of my babysitters as a kid was a camp survivor, and she used to scare the shit out of me with her tales—and her tattoo. I find it extremely unlikely that she was a participant in some absurd Protocols-of-the-Learned-Elders-of-Zion-style international jewboycommie conspiracy, so apparently we agree on all that, as well.

However, for me to accept your ridiculous assertion that "the world is guilty" for the "destruction of European Jewry" would be, well, a real stretch. Continuing with such selectively broad logic, we could also assume the "world is guilty" for complicity in the forced starvation of nearly *one-half* of my ancestors entire "ethnic" population between 1847 and 1851 in Ireland (I demand reparations!), or that "the world is guilty" for the carnage of the Roman Circuses. That an attempt at genocide was made by the "British" against my "Irish ancestors" is widely recognized as being historic "fact", but my socially constructed "ethnicity" no more should make me an apologist for the manipulative propaganda and fascist depredations of the Irish Republican Army in their manner of response to past British atrocities than any Jew should be an apologist for the brutality of the Israeli state in response to the Nazi pogrom—or those perped by the Crusaders, for that matter (and what does wasting Palestinians have to do with getting back at the Germans, anyhow?). Unfortunately, such apologists are usually what you'll find when dealing with hysterical witch hunters who're out looking for new and exciting ways to call opponents of Israeli fascism "anti-semites".

You roundly condemn *homogenously* various big-name ideologues (who all hold very conflicting

views) for supposedly behaving as if there is a conception of Jewish homogeneity informing their various stances on... well, hell, is it the "holocaust" or Israel that you're talking about here? You seem to have homogenously (intentionally?) confused heterogenous attacks on the policies of one with attacks on the veracity of the other. That's not surprising, the worst assholes always confuse "race" with religion and state with self, while confusing "a better, freer world" with one in which no one hurts their feelings.

Your entire argument as laid out in the letter above would be less offensive to me if it at least refused to make such generalizations. But it doesn't—and it doesn't stop there, it takes the next step. These ineffectual, "ignorant" little men are fair game for your self-righteous demonization. "Insane", "inbred" "cracker" "storm-troopers" are epithets that spring to mind from your letter, and such emotionalism evidences that you have here a *personal* reason for wanting to convince the "world" that it is at "fault" for the slaughter of "European Jewry", a *moral agenda* to flog, and one perhaps based on ethnic hatred, at that. "Those verfucktiga Goyim", you seem to be saying, "they didn't come to our military rescue in time. They let us all be gassed and shot. They've been doing it for thousands of years. They're all in it together. Scumbags". A lot of shitty things have happened in human history, and I accept blame or "fault" for *none* of them, especially when someone tells me to. I refuse to play the guilt-trip game of the leftist self-abusive moralist. If I was to take this guilt-trip scenario to its conclusion, I should be obliged to whip out my pistol and immediately cork myself in the noggin to atone for the past "sins" of mankind.

Then there's us (this needs to be said, so I may as well say it here). Because *Anarchy* has published letters we've been sent regarding this issue, the *Anarchy* collective is obviously made up of a bunch of "evil" "crypto-fascists" or, at the very least, just plain old garden-variety "fascists". Because Jason McQuinn didn't squirt a fucking miscarriage and run the standard ringing PC denunciations of revisionism up the flagpole and

salute when Popular Reality Press submitted its dismal little *"Confessions of a Holocaust Revisionist"* chapbook for review in issue #34/Fall '92, his ostensibly "lukewarm" condemnation of the book branded him a "fascist" sympathizer, as well.

It is extremely disheartening that we must repeatedly explain to "anarchists" and "anti-authoritarians" the difference between the letters this magazine receives, and the editorial stance or respective political persuasions of the individuals involved in the magazine's production. If we print a letter written by someone who claims to play basketball on Mars, that does *not* mean the *Anarchy* collective shoots hoop on Mars, *believes* that hoop-shooting life exists on Mars, *agrees* with the idea that Mars should be colonized so we can all shoot hoop, but it evidences *only* that "Martian" ball-players write us from time to time. We will remain committed to an open-letters policy as much as we are able, despite our all-too-frequent clashes with the kind of moronic (intentional?) misinterpretation of our motives and aspirations that leaves us open to slander from liberals and leftist reformists.

Secondly, we're not obligated to promote any other tendency besides our own—which is largely that of a self-consciously flawed, self-critical, individualist anti-authoritarian bent. We're more interested in finding new ways to think critically about the world around us than we are in regurgitating reified ideologies and moral codes to explain it for us.

At the rotten core, those pushing the holocaust revisionist agenda have as much of a political reason for doing it as more extreme zionist (notice I said "zionist", not "jewish") elements have for trying to blame the world for a selected small percentage of the deaths in World War Two. Undoubtedly, pointing this out will bring a whole new round of accusations of veiled (or not-so-veiled) anti-semitism or racism on my part. By way of making a pre-emptive strike on such groundless attacks, I'll close by saying a hearty "fuck you" to everyone claiming membership in a "race", all "chosen people" of whatever religious or sexual stripe, all who lovingly fondle cultural fetishes and cultivate their atten-

dant modes of consumption or "lifestyles", those who supposedly represent the "genuine and sincere voices of minority dissent" and everyone who wants to make excuses for the above stupidities because they were somehow jerked around by the Mongols in the tenth century, and especially any nazi or "white power" geeks who want to write me fan mail because they're dumb enough to think I'm on their side, simply because I've stated the obvious. Fuck you very much.

Death to the infidels!

To the editor:

[...] While I find many of Hakim Bey's ideas interesting, even though many of them are not new, I find his self-promotion to be a problem. In the "Permanent Autonomous Zone," he tells us to avoid the temptation to become objects of the consensus media. Not only does it do us no good, but it will turn us into targets. [...] Many people use multiple names to keep from becoming consumable products, to keep from becoming mediated objects; Bey uses them to become a cult figure and to sell more of his own products. [...] It's one thing to use multiple names to avoid being mediated, and there are many who do that (and I would not name them), but when you use these names to sell yourself as a product, "New York Anarchist-Sufi-Guru" or whatever, it's not time to play along. We don't need anarchist stars or self-appointed cult figures. Following along in the tradition of Terrence McKenna, there are already rave tapes with Hakim Bey spoken word put to techno being distributed by the TAZ rave and SPAZ (semi-permanent) rave. McKenna babbles on about the coming of 2012 and Bey about how a mediated life is no life at all. But once your name becomes elevated to this status, nobody hears what you say, you are just another product being churned through the fashion wheel. You have been "recuperated," Mr. Bey, and it's time to commit suicide, it's time for Hakim Bey to no longer exist. For this comfortable career you

have built helps create no life for you or me; it only serves to further this mechanical society. It seems you only half read what the Situationists had to say, or that you just couldn't manage the wild life and opted for an easy path. If you don't disappear soon, you'll become another goo-goo-eyed Timothy Leary, sitting at a rave drooling.

S'Ural Masha
Raleigh, NC

Future Pro, Inc

Dear Editor,

Basketball is one of America's most loved sports. We at Future Pro, Inc., believe this is a game that can instill a great deal of confidence in young players. That is, of course, if they can be successful at it. This is why the Future Pro 101S adjustable basketball goal was developed.

This exciting product is quickly gaining popularity, and we feel it is one that would be of interest to your readers. Therefore, enclosed is a press release and a photo of our 101S adjustable goal system. Any space you may provide would be greatly appreciated.

If you would like any additional information, please feel free to contact me or my associate, Jeff Roth, at 1-800-323-4526. Please bring it to our attention if our product will be appearing in your magazine. We'd like to receive a copy for future advertising consideration.

Thank you for your time and attention.

Sincerely,
Kris Haefling
Marketing and Sales
Future Pro, Inc.
Inman, KS

Neo-nationalism

Dear *Anarchy*,

A letter in your paper wrongly calls "Alternative Green" neo-nationalist. "Alternative Green" advocates autonomous, self-sufficient villages (green anarchism), achieved by:

1. Armed revolution on the periphery.
2. Cutting taxes to reduce the power of government, and to reduce labor costs and produce a regression of technology.

3. Progressively giving up the political unit, in which nationalism will, at first, take a strong part, in breaking up the European union, for example.

To call this neo-nationalism is deliberate and unacceptable

the concept of the "Europe of a hundred flags" to Derek Holland. In fact this was the title of a book published by Yann Fouéré. Likewise the concept of the "political soldier" is from Evola not Holland.



The Future Pro 101S

misrepresentation. I include back issues for confirmation.

Best wishes,
Richard Hunt for
Alternative Green
20 Upper Barr, Cowley
Oxford OX4 3UX
England

More Third Way

Dear *Anarchy*,

As a member of Third Way I was interested to read the letter from Oxford GA's (Spring/Summer '94).

They are wrong to attribute

In a world increasingly dominated by multi-nationals and large financial institutions those who advocate a policy based on upholding the sovereignty of national communities are rebels. Instead of simply labelling groups like the Third Way, Anarchists should debate our policies and principles.

On a separate point may I ask your revisionist readers whether they accept that when Nazi special units entered Eastern Europe they massacred Jews simply because they were Jews. Does this, in itself, not

indicate a genocidal tendency?

Yours sincerely,
David Weston
PO Box 1077
Catford, London SE
England

Tad Replies: Green nationalism?

In response to the letters above from David Weston and Richard Hunt:

Richard—you want to cut labor costs, not abolish labor. You ostensibly want to curb government power, but (of course) stop short of abolishing it. This program sounds like the line of the minarchist ("libertarian") wing of the Republican Party here in the U.S.. You claim not to be "neo-nationalist," but admit to a desire to use nationalist sentiments to "break up the European Union" apparently to preserve the integrity of the English state, and, I'm forced to assume, its alleged cultural and economic sovereignty.

David then informs us that "those who support the sovereignty of national communities" are "rebels." Said rebels must have been mighty successful in said rebellion, because I sure haven't seen any borders declared obsolete lately. He then goes on to inform us that "anarchists should debate (Third Way's) policies and principles." Really?

What's this? Nationalist "Green" Socialism mixed with Social Ecology-style Objectivism? Just what the hell is going on in Britain, anyway?

More pictures

Dear Sir or Madam:

You got good issues. Add more pictures to your magazine. Try to buy time on the air.

Sincerely,
Larry Barnes, Jr.

Letter to Anarchy

In *Anarchy* #38 (Fall 1993), I wrote a letter exposing and damning Ted Kopley as a rip-off artist and loser, a Bob Black wanna-be but without the lawyer capabilities, and even physically weaker. When all is said and done, Kopley ends up being a mere typist.

My short letter was so damn-



ing, it left Kepley with only one option, the bait of which I hoped he'd take: he would have to recuperate my letter by agreeing with and celebrating its content. He did me one better (thanks Ted!) by actually claiming to be me. I gave him the rope to hang himself, and he went to get more. He did this in *Anarchy* #40 (Spring/Summer 94) claiming, "the devil made me do it" (i.e. his drug habit) which he also blamed as being the cause of all his fucked up behavior. Wrong. He was a clown prior to the dope, and as one can see from his post dope *Anarchy* letter, remains so.

But he didn't take me up on the "faggot" and "nigger" mouthings ascribed to him. The "faggot" stuff is just wanna-be bad boy shock value bluster. The "nigger" stuff is real. While working for a New York City gay porn store he caught a shoplifter and told him to leave with a "don't come back here you ugly fucking nigger" remark. The "ugly nigger" went around the corner, got his posse, and waited for Kepley to split, whereupon,

chase ensued. They landed a few well-deserved punches but couldn't finish it because the wail of a nearby squad car interrupted. In one of his last dope cops in New York City he was able to come up with the remaining cash by cornering a skinny young black girl in the dark, slapping her onto the sidewalk and relieving her of three dollars. The girl had big black brothers, who never did find Kepley because soon after he was smart enough to leave town (ok, this latter story doesn't prove the "politically correct" definition of racism, but it seems to be part of the pattern) Kepley high-tailed it back to the safety of mommy and daddy in the Kansas cornfields [That's wheatfields. Ed.]. His last act there was to bloody the face of his slight girlfriend when she refused to give him any more money. She had brothers too. He left town.

I could go on. Kepley has a few creative next moves. Recuperate again claiming authorship of this letter. This though I believe would now look fishy. Better yet he could come clean,

admit he is not me, and then pen a fictitious letter from me, making me look the fool, or pen a letter from a fictitious person denouncing me as a fool or fraud.

In whichever case, it will keep him doing what he does best: typing. To close one option (sorry Ted) this will be the last letter written by me on Kepley.

Bob McGlynn
(writing as Eric Blake)
For OGB and NENW
Brooklyn, NY

[Ed. note: We were able to ascertain that the above attempt at provocation—sent pseudonymously to *Anarchy*—was penned by Bob McGlynn, an inconsequential left-Marxist who hangs around the periphery of the anti-authoritarian scene in NYC (usually vigorously denouncing left-Marxists). We encourage readers (especially those in Eastern Europe) to write Mr. McGlynn at 528 Fifth St, Brooklyn, NY., 11215 and query him as to what he was attempting to achieve with the above feeble fabrication, and how engaging in such an

action fits in with his avowed "libertarian socialism".]

More on Montréal's Alternative Bookshop

Dear *Anarchy*,

In a reply to a letter from Alternative Bookshop, I mentioned that the bookshop stocks the journals of the US and French communist parties (*Anarchy*, Spring-Summer '94, p70). As it turns out, the person who said this (who has since joined the bookshop) was mistaken and these journals are not available there.

The bookshop continues to experience financial difficulties and for a time was frequently closed when the collective was basically down to the core people who came into the bookshop after Cafe Commune folded in the late '80's. More recently, some new people have joined.

Michael William
CP 1554 Succ "B"
Montreal, Quebec
Canada H3B 3L2

Mark Neville

Anarchism and Other Impediments to Anarchy

By Bob Black

There is no need at present to produce new definitions of anarchism—it would be hard to improve on those long since devised by various eminent dead foreigners. Nor need we linger over the familiar hyphenated anarchisms, communist- and individualist- and so forth; the textbooks cover all that. More to the point is why we are no closer to anarchy today than were Godwin and Proudhon and Kropotkin and Goldman in their times. There are lots of reasons, but the ones that most need to be thought about are the ones the anarchists engender themselves, since it is these obstacles—if any—that it should be possible to remove. Possible, but not probable.

My considered judgement, after years of scrutiny of, and sometimes harrowing activity in the anarchist milieu, is that **anarchists** are a main reason—I suspect, a sufficient reason—why anarchy remains an epithet without a prayer of a chance of being realized. Most anarchists are, frankly, incapable of living in an autonomous cooperative manner. A lot of them aren't very bright. They tend to peruse their own classics and insider literature to the exclusion of broader knowledge of the world we live in. Essentially timid, they associate with others like themselves with the tacit understanding that nobody will measure anyone else's opinions and actions against any standard of practical critical intelligence; that no one by his or her individual achievements will rise too far above the prevalent level; and, above all, that nobody challenge the shibboleths of anarchist ideology.

Anarchism as a milieu is not so much a challenge to the existing order as it is one highly specialized form of accommodation to it. It is a way of life, or an adjunct of one, with its own particular mix of rewards and sacrifices. Poverty is obligatory, but for that very reason forecloses the question whether this or that anarchist could have been anything but a failure regardless of ideology. The history of anarchism is a history of unparalleled defeat and martyrdom, yet anarchists venerate their victimized forbears with a morbid devotion which occasions suspicion that the anarchists, like everyone else, think the only good anarchist is a dead one. Revolution—defeated revolution—is glorious, but it belongs in books and pamphlets. In this century—Spain in 1936 and France in 1968 are especially clear cases—the revolutionary upsurge caught the official, organized anarchists flat-footed and initially non-supportive or worse. The reason is not far to seek. It's not that all these ideologues were hypocrites (some were). Rather, they had worked out a daily routine of anarchist militancy, one they unconsciously counted on to endure indefinitely since revolution isn't **really** imaginable in the here-and-now, and they reacted with fear and defensiveness when events outdistanced their rhetoric.

In other words, given a choice between anarchism and anarchy, most anarchists would go for the anarchism ideology and subculture rather than take a dangerous leap into the unknown, into a world of stateless liberty. But since anarchists are almost the only avowed critics of the state as such, these freedom-fearing folk would inevitably assume prominent or at least publicized places in any insurgency which was genuinely anti-

statist. Themselves follower-types, they would find themselves the leaders of a revolution which threatened their settled status no less than that of the politicians and proprietors. The anarchists would sabotage the revolution, consciously or otherwise, which without them might have dispensed with the state without even pausing to replay the ancient Marx/Bakunin tussle.

In truth the anarchists who assume the name have done nothing to challenge the state, not with windy unread jargon-riddled writings, but with the contagious example of another way to relate to other people. Anarchists as they conduct the anarchism business are the best refutation of anarchist pretensions. True, in North America at least the top-heavy "federations" of workerist organizers have collapsed in ennui and acrimony,

and a good thing too, but the informal social structure of anarchism is still hierarchic through and through. The anarchists placidly submit to what Bakunin called an "invisible government" which in their case consists of the editors (in fact if not in name) of a handful of the larger and longer-lasting anarchist publications.

These publications, despite seemingly profound ideological differences, have similar "father-knows-best" stances vis-a-vis their readers as well as a gentlemen's agreement not to permit attacks on each other which would expose inconsistencies and otherwise undermine their common class interest in hegemony over the anarchist rank-and-file. Oddly enough, you can much more readily criticize **The Fifth Estate** or **Kick It Over** in their own pages than you can there criticize, say, **Processed World**. Every organization has more in common with every other organization than it does with any of the unorganized. The anarchist critique of the state, if only the anarchists understood it, is but a special case of the critique of organization. And, at some level, even anarchist organizations sense this.

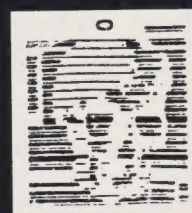
Anti-anarchists may well conclude that if there is to be hierarchy and coercion, let it be out in the open, clearly labelled as such. Unlike these pundits (the right-wing "libertarians", the minarchists, for instance) I stubbornly persist in my opposition to the state. But not because, as anarchists so often thoughtlessly declaim, the state is not "necessary". Ordinary people dismiss this anarchist assertion as ludicrous, and so they should. Obviously, in an industrialized class society such as ours, the state is necessary. The point is that the state has created the conditions in which it is indeed necessary, by stripping individuals and voluntary associations of their powers. More fundamentally, the state's underpinnings (work, moralism, industrial technology, hierarchic organizations) are **not** necessary but rather antithetical to the satisfaction of real needs and desires. Unfortunately, most brands of anarchism endorse all these premises but balk at their logical conclusion: the state.

If there were no anarchists, the state would have had to invent them. We know on several occasions it has done just that. We need anarchists unencumbered by anarchism. Then, and only then, we can begin to get serious about fomenting anarchy.





**B.A.L.
P.O. Box 2647
New York, NY 10009**



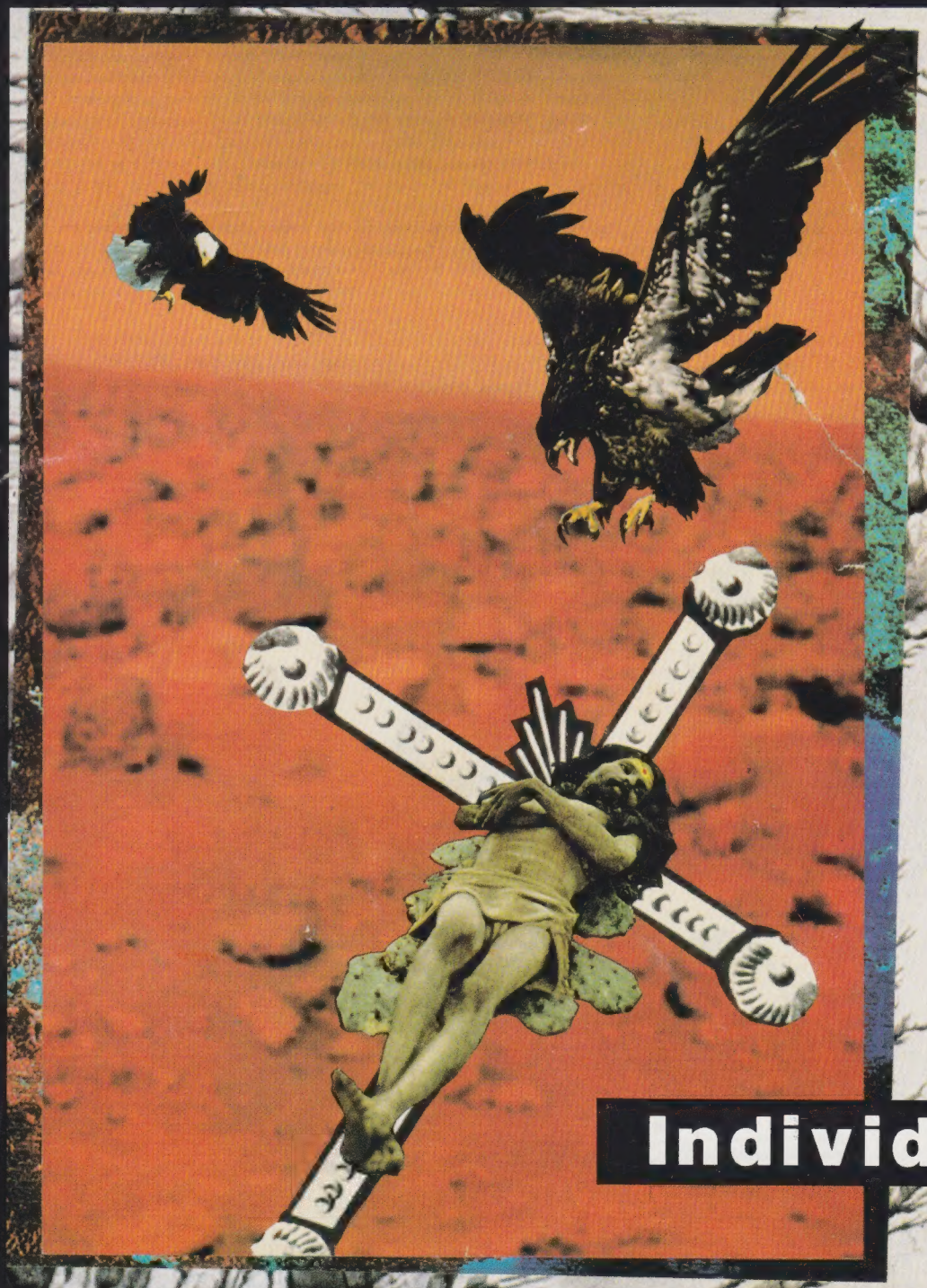
Towards a Society based on Mutual Aid, Voluntary Cooperation & the Liberation of Desire

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Anarchy

A Journal of Desire Armed



On Max Stirner

**Marius Jacob &
the Illegalists**

**Anarchism and
Other
Impediments to
Anarchy**

**Creativity,
Spontaneity and
Poetry**

**The Right To Be
Greedy**

**Libertarianism
-Bogus Anarchy**

In Memoria

Special issue on

Individualism